M 585 614 6044 /50 cont'd/ Why is the maternal uncle invited to stand near the girl during the whole speech, and why does the maternal clan have precedence at the festivity and at the dinner? Why is the paternal clan in the very background all this day, when it is nevertheless the one which is giving its daughter in marriage and which has the duty to defend her? Also abnormal is this custom which fixes only the gifts to be offered to the girl by the maternal aunts and uncles and not those to be given by her paternal uncles and aunts. Finally, why attach more importance to this festivity than to the one at the son-in-law's home?

M 585 795 771 Let us remember that this ceremony is held around a shamanistic fire and not before an image of Buddha, although Buddhism is without question the primary religion of the country, and that in spite of the fact that the whole clan includes numerous lamas among its members, shamanism is actually the old religion of the T'ou-jen.

M 585 Let us note again that the master of ceremonies, when he takes the floor, recalls the faraway past in which the daughter still inherited from her parents half as much as a son. One would say it was a history lesson.

We are here in the presence of a very old ceremony, one which is completely abnormal in a patriarchal organization.

M [262] After the speech and the girl's departure, the guests are invited to sit down; gin is served, and they play mora noisily; they sing and smoke while waiting for the Chinese noodles to be served.

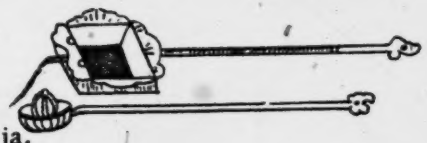
M 585 583 /51/ The master of ceremonies arranges the gifts in chests, and all the pieces are numbered, so that the next day at the dinner at the son-in-law's home, when he again takes the floor, he can take them out without difficulty. (1)

HM 585 1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 308: (Mongols) As soon as the livestock has been delivered to the future wife's father (the German translation of the same work says that he himself comes to the future husband's home to get them), he gives a feast which is soon reciprocated by the husband-to-be for the relatives and

[645 cont.]

764 [783] [792] All who participated at the cremation wash their hands and fumigate them in a great incense fire in front of the yard gate. Then they drink tea and hold a funeral meal. The lama usually returns to his monastery on the same day.

[415] Ladling spoon and pouring tube. In the spoon, the thunderbolt, rdo-rja. [532] (Drawing of a Tujen.]



764 795 792 [778] The fire-pouring is undertaken only in the case of those persons who have received a Buddhist baptism. Old people in addition also receive the age-consecration and are regarded as lay monks. If someone has died without the Buddhist baptism, it is performed after death. This is done by the lama with the help of a chest mirror. Since no water may flow over the dead person, the lama holds the chest shield in front of him so that the head is mirrored in it. He pours the consecrated water from his can over this mirror image and gives the baptismal prayer (20).

20. [Foreign text p. 656.] The fact that no water may flow over the dead person is not the only reason for the washing in the mirror. The mirror image is washed even in the case of living persons, just as at the consecration of Buddha images. In this connection cf. also Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141. In the passage, "Then he takes a little metal mirror, points its front side in all directions, and sprinkles it with a few drops of water from his cult vessel," it is not a matter of simply turning the mirror

[778]

[645 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
back and forth, but in all probability it is to catch the mirror images of the boys who have been brought before the Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age, receive the age-consecration and become a member of the monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman, from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring [783] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purifica- [372] tion for the dead, similar to baptism.

764 Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then
766 no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed
[792] with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of [372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is desirable, but not essential.

764 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three
602 days for the bone storage. During these three days the members of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there, kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea. Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the men and women of the deceased's own family and at least one man, but no women, of the related families, and furthermore the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the [782] oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea.
764 After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

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PREFACE

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the population of Huang-chung. Note must be taken of these historical facts in order to explain the actual religious mentality of the people of Huang-chung.

In the same way historical events will explain the tremendous crises which affected Lamaism in Huang-chung, and the actual position it occupies in the Hsining country.

A chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung, their material, educational, and religious aspects; their means of subsistence; the subjects of the lamaseries, branch monasteries, lamas, and living Buddhas. In this chapter, details of the numerical strength of lamas, in proportion to the population as a whole, are given. These figures throw light on a subject which has been somewhat distorted by past estimates. They show that the proportion of lamas to the total population is much lower than we have been led to expect. These figures are probably more reliable than those of past estimates; certainly they are more circumstantial.

[795]

The inferior position of the Lamaism of the Red Sect in the region will also be better understood when put in its historical frame.

Similarly, the shamanism of the Monguors is approached from the angles of its peculiar connections with Taoism, the conservation of its ritual proper, and its historical connections with the "wuism" of old China and the shamanism of Central Asia. Emphasis is put also on its overwhelming importance in the religious life of the Monguors.

The second part of the study is devoted to the practical aspects of the religious life of the Monguors, its environment of fear and apprehension, and the role occupied in the fabric of daily life respectively by Lamaism and shamanism, and the various rites alien to both religions.

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The describing of monasteries, Lamaist monuments, iconography, programs of studies in colleges, theatrical exhibitions by lamas, festivities, and shamanist rites, has been avoided in this part, since all are encountered hundreds of times in books dealing with the subject. Instead, emphasis is put on the specific Monguor aspects of the religious life and rites that are peculiar to them, in order to understand the religious mentality of the representatives of the religions.

A chapter will deal with the death and burial customs, and still another with the cult of "Heaven and all the spirits."

The last chapter of the study will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping the Monguors to keep their identity, traditions and customs, strengthening the social structure of the clans, and preventing their absorption in the Chinese nation.

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shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

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vent shamanists, and provides a reason why Lamaism never succeeded in uprooting shamanism, notwithstanding its overwhelming influence for centuries. Another important factor, without doubt, is in the very nature of the debased Lamaism. Lamas of the Red Sect, who were the first to come into the country, indulged in nearly all the same magical practices as the old shamans, including bloody sacrifices, except that they performed them in such a way that the people, not interested in philosophical and doctrinal discussions but in having religious men who could avert all kinds of calamities in the most efficient way, jumped to the obvious conclusion that the basic difference existing between shamanism and Lamaism was only a question of more or less proficiency in magical art. Lamaism became a kind of supplementary devotion, stimulating the heart to natural kindness and religiosity, but harmonizing perfectly with all kinds of magical practices, regardless of the performer.

POSITION OF SHAMANISM

The place shamanism occupies in the religious life of the Monguors, and its persistence over centuries under the most unfavorable conditions, seems to be an enigma. The lamas, who outnumber the shamans perhaps a hundred to one, are members of a wealthy institution. The few shamans are mostly poor people who derive a precarious existence from the farming of some fields and the fulfilling of their office. Lamas have temples that glisten with gilt; the shamans have none of their own. Lamas are more or less cultured men; most of the shamans are unable to read. The lama institution enjoys a high prestige among the Chinese officials, and controls nearly all the levers of power in the country; the poor shaman, living in the village with his family, always at the beck and call of the villagers, is an unknown and powerless entity in the official world. But, in spite of these unfavorable conditions, the shaman remains a figure of importance with his own kind of prestige, in the religious life of the Monguors.

For those who are cognizant of the power of the impact of wealth and decorum upon the societies of the Orient, this fact seems hard to understand. Its explanation is to be found in the general belief that the shamans are mightier than the lamas because they are more proficient in magical art, and in the subduing of evil spirits. People steeped in superstition, beset on every side by malignant spirits, confronted by diseases, misfortunes, and evils, have easy recourse to the men they believe might best help them, and whom they believe best master the technique of undoing the harm wrought by uncontrollable forces, namely, the shamans. This belief in the magical superiority of the shaman is so deep-rooted because lamas, and even Living Buddhas, when squeezed to the wall, unable to cope with uncontrollable forces and events, resort occasionally to their last shred of hope, the shaman.

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The prin-

ciples on which succession by reincarnation are founded had existed for centuries, but had not yet been generally applied. The next prominent lama to whom the principles were applied was the Panchen lama of Tashilhumpo. In the next two centuries succession by reincarnation, inaugurated by the Yellow Sect in 1475, spread to such an extent that every monastery, including less important ones, of whatever sect, had its own Living Buddha. Some of them had several in the same monastery.[48] Even the superior of the convent of nuns, situated on the shore of Lake Yandok, having defended her convent against the invading Mongols in 1716, became the incarnation of Palden Lhamo, celebrated all over Tibet and Mongolia, and the potent protector of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas and Lhasa.

In the first Part of this study it was noted that Palden Lhamo is the protectress of the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, which honors her in a peculiar way.[49] Her picture is carried by the T'u-ssu on his triennial visit to the Monguor villages in order that all the clansmen and the subjects may perform their obeisance before the image. In Huang-chung the passion for Living Buddhas went so far as to declare the father of Tsong khapa a reincarnation, called Achia Bsan, which is the proprietor and grand chief of the Kumbum monastery. Even this was not enough. Tsong khapa's mother was also declared a reincaration, but her reincarnation always appears in a boy, who is the Living Buddha of the monastery of Rardscha, on the upper reaches of the Yellow River. However, according to Lamaist doctrine and rites, the father's reincarnation takes precedence over the mother's. Each reincarnation has a residence in Kumbum, but the father, being the grand chief of the monastery, has his own headquarters.[50]

TEMPLES BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY

In analyzing the Ming policy concerning Lamaism in Huang-chung, it is of interest to know how many monasteries were built in Huang-chung during this period.

Included in the long list of temples found in the *Annals* of Hsining there are recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a*, the temple of Ch'ü-t'an, as having been built in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424); ch. 15, p. 2, the small temple of Hung-t'ung-ssu in the city of Hsining in 1390; ch. 15, pp. 4*b* and 5*a*, the famous monastery of Kumbum, adding that only in 1596 were negotiations begun to enlarge its buildings and to construct a big monastery; in ch. 31, p. 14*a*, in the account of revolts of Tibetans and the inroads by Mongols from Kukunor, it is incidentally noted that the monastery of Hung-shan-ssu, 60 *li* south of Ch'ü-t'an, had been looted and destroyed in 1519, as well as

[48] Maraini, Fosco, *Secret Tibet*, 144, translated from the Italian by Eric Mosbacher, New York, Viking, 1952.
[49] Schram, *op. cit.*, 65.
[50] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 237.

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thanksgiving for the honor bestowed upon the family. Some time later, the nephew of T'u-kuan, of the Ts'e-bdurk family became the reincarnation of the Living Buddha of Labrang, the most intimate friend of T'u-kuan for many generations. It was T'u-kuan who, in Peking, obtained the title of Erdeni Nomun-khan for the Living Buddha of Labrang.[23] After the death of the Living Buddha of Labrang, T'u-kuan is invited to cast the horoscope in order to indicate the place where the reincarnation of his friend will occur, and *vice versa*.

SEARCH FOR THE INCARNATION

This problem has been dealt with by many authors. Therefore, only data concerning Huang-chung will here be recorded, because they may help to reveal the social psychology of the Monguor lamas and of the Monguors. Upon the death of one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, the Dalai Lama is invited to cast the horoscope indicating the place of rebirth. Usually two or three boys seem to fulfill the requirements. Their names are sent to Peking and put in the traditional urn, according to the protocol established by imperial edict in 1793,[24] from which one is then drawn. The name drawn is supposed to be that of the genuine incarnation. For minor Living Buddhas, another Living Buddha is requested to render the service.

Usually the place of rebirth is indicated in terms as vague as the oracle of Delphi, and lamas go to find the candidate, but old lamas have admitted to me confidentially that soon after the death of a Living Buddha some lamas of the intendancy are sent to investigate where children were born around that time, and in what wealthy family, and actually it is usually one or two years before the horoscope is cast. Sometimes the horoscope is so vague that it is many years before the boy is found. The rebirth of Achia of Kumbum who died tragically in 1909 was found after six years, and two boys fitted the requirements. The two names were sent to Peking, and one was chosen. At that time the lamas of Kumbum were in a hurry, fearing that Achia would no longer reincarnate because of the fateful circumstances of his death. When the boy is found, lamas have him select from among several items displayed (beads, cups, etc.) the things he used in his previous existences. This is performed in the presence of lamas only.

Wonderful legends are told about the reincarnations of Erh-ku-lung. T'u-kuan, bent with age, went on foot to Peking, incognito, in order to heap up piles of merit. At night, in Lien-ch'eng, a good but poor lady prepared his food, and, in the morning when he left she offered him her last piece of brick tea. T'u-kuan died in Peking and was reborn in the child to which the poor but charitable lady gave birth. It was her reward.

[23] Huth, *op. cit.*, 288.

[24] W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung pao* 9 (1): 55, March, 1910.

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whole community lavishly entertained. The guests were entertained at the intendancy. After dinner, 400 taels instead of 500 taels were presented to the parents. Then the guests, bursting with righteous indignation, started cursing the intendancy and a feverish discussion broke up in a violent wrangle. In the scurry and confusion and unexpected hurly burly, all the lamas of the monastery and the intendants arrived to patch up the trouble. The 500 taels were paid. After ten years I heard the people of Li-chia-t'ai still cursing the intendancy.

In 1894 the intendancy of T'u-kuan got into trouble over its last incarnation. A lama boy, seven years of age, who lived at the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng which belonged to the Lu T'u-ssu, was recognized as the incarnation of T'u-kuan. Lu T'u-ssu, the lamas of Ku-ch'eng, the family of the boy, and the entire village objected, and did not allow the boy to abandon the monastery without having the intendancy pay 5,000 taels to the family. The most influential mediators were invited by Erh-ku-lung in order to find a compromise. Sheep and cows were killed every day, plenty of wine distilled, and lamas and the whole village had a wonderful time enjoying dinners and drinks for ten days. Finally the compromise was reached that 3,600 taels should be paid to the family and various gifts offered to the T'u-ssu, the intendancy of Ku-ch'eng, the members of the family, and the mediators. The intendancy of T'u-kuan, which was known all over the country to be rich and wealthy, the lamas, the whole of Ku-ch'eng, and the family of the new incarnation, thus seized the opportunity to share in their own way a part of the honor befallen to Erh-ku-lung by discovery of the reincarnation.

It happens, however, that once in a while the horoscope seems to be cast in the wrong way. A nephew of T'u-kuan, two years of age, was recognized to be the incarnation of the minor Living Buddha Kao of Ch'ie-bzan. At five years of age, upon the death of his parents, he was taken to the intendancy, but seemed to be an idiot. In 1918, at thirty years of age, he was still only allowed to leave the intendancy once a month, in order to climb the mountain to the Obo and to burn incense.

EDUCATION OF THE MONGUOR LIVING BUDDHAS

Usually at the age of seven or eight the new Living Buddha is brought to the lamasery, led by a splendid procession of lamas, and installed in the luxurious intendancy, where a group of lama servants scrape and fawn in his presence, cater to his whims, and do his bidding.

The Orient is the country of decorum; the traditional splendor of the oriental courts is proverbial. The Living Buddhas of all the sects are extremely fond of decorum, and try to impress the uncivilized people by a display of munificence and wealth. For this reason

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More has been done by the chiefs and elders of the villages in promoting justice, creating respect for elders, restoring peace in families, defending the position of the women, preventing adultery, punishing the faults of the youngsters, and making the families happy than by the lamas.

I felt really happy to encounter among this tremendous number of lamas the single exception of the old Living Buddha Li, who in the fasting exercises taught the older people to crave pardon for their faults and to pray, and to hear them say that they were happy to have heard comforting words from the mouth of the old man.

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

GENERAL ASPECTS AND FORMER CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

In Huang-chung, there are not only lamas of the Yellow Sect, the reformed sect of Tsong khapa, but also of the Red Sect, which still adheres to the rules observed before the reform. The red lamas marry, and live, scattered over the country, with their wives and children. They till their fields and raise cattle, indulge in wine and tobacco, eat garlic and nearly all kinds of meat. They perform their rites when invited by the people and live under the direction of a superior, who has far less power over them than the superior of the yellow lamas has over his subjects.

At home they wear the dress of the lay people; when performing rites they wear the usual lama dress—a red gown, the red hat, and a shade before the eyes, adorned with fringes of the five ritual colors. They use the same ritual paraphernalia as the lamas of the Yellow Sect, but they like to use a drum made of two skulls, and to blow a trumpet made of a human thigh bone; they recite their own texts. They seem to lay stress on the cult of water springs. All of them have the duty to perform the Rite of the 108 Springs, which lasts for 129 days, at least once in their lifetime. Some among them perform this rite two or three times. Well versed in magic, they are capable of performing not only the rites performed by the Yellow lamas, but also many other rites prohibited for the Yellow lamas.

All the lamas of Huang-chung belonged to the Red Sect in former times. The lamas of Ch'ü-t'an, the Nang-suo, Karwa lamas, the Dhyana family lamas, the lamas belonging to small monasteries or hermitages,

abstinence from carnal desires, liquor, and he enforced the rules of moral discipline. However, he did not denounce the images worshipped by the old sect, representing men and women in offensive postures, but gave to them a new interpretation of an abstract nature. . . . Externally the two sects do not differ much from each other." And on p. 434: "I am compelled to say that Lamaism has fallen, and that it has assumed a form quite contrary to that to which its great reformer Tsong Khapa elevated it, and I am sincerely sorry for this degeneration."

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the lamas living secluded in the mountains, all indulged in magic. It is not known when most of them went over to the Yellow Sect, perhaps between 1600 and 1723; nor is it known when the first lamas of the Yellow Sect penetrated the country, diffusing the reform. If account were taken of the date 1560, when a small hermitage of ten Yellow lamas started at Kumbum, and developed slowly; and the date of 1604 when Erh-kulung humbly began, it may be presumed that until that time the Red Sect was the only one prevalent in Huang-chung, living a precarious existence owing to the intermittent inroads and revolts in the country. Only after Gushi Khan had conquered Tibet in 1636 and offered it to the Dalai Lama and after the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) had established the supremacy of the Yellow Sect, and the hated rival sects had been enfeebled, can it be assumed that the Yellow Sect entered a period of success in Huang-chung.

It was often said that, after the encounter of Altan Khan with the Dalai Lama in Kukunor (1577), where Altan proclaimed the Yellow Sect the official religion of the Mongols, and built a temple, the sect started diffusing on a large scale in Huang-chung. This assumption is hard to prove on account of the hatred fostered against the invading Mongols, and the disturbances in the country, for in 1591 the Monguor troops with the Chinese Army burned to the ground the temple built by Altan fifteen years before,[1] and the Mongol, Nairamdahu, persecuted the Yellow Sect in Kukunor in 1633.

PRESENT CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

The conditions under which the Red lamas lived during the Ming period, in the always disturbed country, seem to have been akin with those under which they now live in the region north of the Hsining River. A small number of them are encountered in villages there. Lamas of several villages, constituting a small group, choose from among them a chief, who holds the position for one year. They possess their own small temple where, four times a year, they gather for seven days in order to read their texts, perform their rites, and discuss their own topics with their chief. Some of them have a pupil who receives training from his master. Each of them tries to be invited by the people to perform rites that are paid for. Not having a monastery or a Living Buddha, the institution lacks a backbone.

After 1642, when the Yellow Sect started the practice of Living Buddhas in Huang-chung and developed its strong organization, two of the most important Red groups south of the Hsining River, where the Red lamas were more numerous, managed to have their own Living Buddhas. In the group of Goorong bzan near

[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, 18*b*.

Sha-ch'ung, and the group of Kan-cha Valley which had living Buddhas, the original temple yard became a monastery, and the loose group thus got a chief invested with authority over his subjects and wielding influence in the country. 175 795

The small groups of Red lamas north of the Hsining River, however, had no Living Buddha. Twice a year they invited the Living Buddha of Kan-cha, and four times a year went to Kan-cha, in order to attend their rites, but for a long time now the Living Buddha has only been invited every two or three years, and the lamas seldom go to Kan-cha—all the more since Kan-cha, being in a state of dilapidation, has lost its attractiveness. It had been destroyed by the Moslems in 1868–1872, and its important library of printing blocks was burned; it has not yet been restored.

The monastery of Goorong bzan, however, is flourishing. The Living Buddha is a strong personality bristling with activity. Acknowledged as the most learned Living Buddha, all over the country, even by the lamas of the Yellow Sect, he is trying to restore the former glory of the Red Sect. His difficulties with the lamasery of Sha-ch'ung, and his intentions to restore and occupy the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the center of the city of Hsining, have been recorded. His monastery is in fine shape, the temples are as beautiful as most of the temples of the Yellow Sect. Four times a year more than two hundred of his red lamas convene for seven days, for the reading and explanation of texts, and the performance of their rites. Goorong and the dignitaries of the monastery preside over the convention in the same way as those of the Yellow Sect. [792]

Tibetans like to make pilgrimages to his lamasery and offer their donations. It is a well-known fact in Huang-chung that among the Red lamas there are more learned men than among the Yellow lamas. However, the bulk of them are only versed in the recitation of the texts used at the performance of their rites, and possess only a smattering of knowledge in their religion. They attach an unusual importance to the strictest observance of all the rites during their performances. Their religious training seems to be directed in that way, for they claim that the slightest omission or error in the rites and in the recitation of the texts completely spoils the efficacy of the rite. [648]

The subject of the different kinds of Red Sects and the deities honored in their temples may be passed over here, because it has been dealt with by many authors. The peculiar feature of the Red lamas' institution in Huang-chung is the only subject of our study. 795 792

Among the Red Living Buddhas, the son succeeds the father, as the Living Buddha. Goorong, a tall, upright man of immense strength, hard as nails, begot nine sons from his two wives. Four of his sons are Living Buddhas, three of them in Red monasteries south of the Yellow River. Goorong is called the father of the Living Buddhas. He is a modern man, who has visited

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Peking, Nanking, and Shanghai. He rides a bicycle, walks his smallest sons in a European baby carriage, likes photography, delights in playing a phonograph, enjoys working with electricity at home and in the temple. He possesses all kinds of medical instruments and gives injections. He is reputed to be very proficient in magic, and is the most talked-about man in the country.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RED AND YELLOW LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

The feud between the two sects in Huang-chung never seems to have been as fierce as it was in Tibet, where lamas fought each other and destroyed each others' monasteries. The reason seems to be the troubled circumstances in the country. The people, the Red lamas, and their small institutions suffered tremendously on account of the inroads. The whole country was impoverished. The diffusion of the Yellow Sect, under such conditions, necessarily began on a small, unnoticed scale and when peace was restored the Yellow Sect was protected by the emperors and the Red Sect was powerless.

None the less, Reds and Yellows know their history well, and the embers of the old antagonism are still smoldering under the ashes. The troubles between Goorong and Sha-ch'ung, and the vehement protest of all the Yellow Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, when Goorong was trying to occupy the Ta-fo-ssu, give evidence of this. South of the Yellow River, in the subprefecture of Kui-te, lamas of the Yellow Sect recently prevented the Red lamas of Keura from rebuilding their temple. The trouble developed into full-scale fighting, and lamas on both sides were killed. The lamasery of the Yellow Sect was burned to the ground by the Moslem troops, who restored order. The Yellow Living Buddha fled, but the lamasery had to pay a heavy indemnity. On the north of the Hsining River, however, both sects seem to live congenially, because the Yellow Sect is omnipotent and the Reds are a minority, having not a single monastery in the country.

When the Red group of Erh-chia-ting near Erh-ku-lung built a new temple, the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of Erh-ku-lung offered them seven big trees and sent his intendant to attend the ceremony of the inauguration of the temple. The lamasery of Chu-erh, of the Yellow Sect, allowed the Red group to build a temple on its property. Even the intendant of one of its Living Buddhas was a Red lama. In 1915 I saw Red and Yellow lamas performing rites together at the Karwa of the Yellow Chao lama. It has been recorded that the Yellow lama, chief of the Li Karwa, alternately invited four lamas of the Yellow and of the Red Sects to perform the yearly usual rites at his Karwa.

Lamaseries of the Yellow Sect invite Red lamas to perform the rite intended to appease the avenging spirits of persons who have suffered injustices at the hand of the lamasery. The secretary of the Living Buddha Lu

of Yang-k'ou-erh, who belonged to the Yellow-Sect, was a Red lama. Such anomalies happen because family ties closely knit the members of both sects. The father of the intendant of the lamasery of Ch'ie bzan, which belongs to the Yellow Sect, was a Red lama, and the father of the novice of the intendant, also. I met four lamas of the Yellow Sect, pupils of a learned lama of the Red Sect, who boarded at his home.

At the monastery of Hsien-mi, the father of a young lama of the lamasery, which belongs to the Yellow Sect, was a Red lama. One night, in my presence, he unbosomed his grudge against the supreme chief of the lamasery who had refused permission for his Red Sect to build a temple on the property of the lamasery. "Our sect," he said, "is as the ear of the wheat plant, and the Yellow Sect is as its straw. We occupied the country and diffused our Sect long before the Yellow Sect was born. Our scriptures are so numerous that a man cannot finish reading them during a lifetime. The Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, of the Yung-lo period (1403–24), granted us extensive properties—and then came the Emperor K'ang-hsi, who protected the Yellow Sect and oppressed our Sect." These facts reveal the frame of mind of both sects, and their mutual behavior in Huang-chung.

Although the lamas of the Red Sect constitute a small minority, scattered over the country, and possess only two Living Buddhas, they exert an important influence and play a considerable part in the religious life of the Monguors.

THE RITE OF THE 108 SPRINGS

In order to give an insight into the real psychology of the lamas of the Red Sect, and their attitude toward magic, the Rite of the 108 Springs will be described. It is performed in order to acquire magical power.

The lamas living north of the Hsining River practice the Rite of the 108 Springs at least once in their life. Those among them who have enacted it two or three times are considered by the Monguors as the most potent. It is said that very few lamas of the Yellow Sect are interested in the rite, although serious lamas of the Yellow Sect told me many times that the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu had enacted the rite together with a Red lama, after the Bumkhang he built seemed ineffective, and the troubles in his lamasery had upset him. I could hardly believe it, because the rite is not enacted to honor or to get the protection of spirits of the springs, but is thoroughly magical, and its aim, according to the lamas of both sects, is the increase of magical abilities. At any rate, because the lamas of the Red Sect all practiced it, and are said to be bound to enact the rite, it sheds a true light upon the fundamental character of the lamas of the Red group, who seem to be as fond of magic as the shamans.

Springs of water are situated mostly at the foot of mountains, in deep valleys, and in lonely spots which

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

are supposed to be the favorite abodes of evil spirits. The Red lamas go to these springs in order to meet these demons, to frighten them, to combat them, or to obtain their assistance. So goes the saying of the Monguors and the lamas of both sects.

The rite is a back-breaking work. It lasts for 129 days, more than four months. It is practiced by a single lama, never in a group. Usually a fervent Monguor accompanies the lama for some days, to carry his luggage and prepare his tea. I got the information from two such men and from people living in Waza, near a spring where the lama performed his rite.

Sometimes the lama has to wander a long way to reach a spring, and sometimes three or four springs are situated one next to the other. The rite is carried out in winter and starts with a retreat of seven days at home, during which the lama, three times during the day and three times during the night, prays and reads texts, rattling the drum made of two human skulls, blowing the trumpet made from a human femur, and ringing the bell. He is not allowed to get a long sleep or to stretch himself out on the ground. He has to sleep in a sitting position, is not allowed to undress during the 129 days, or to enter any home or cave.

I saw a Red lama who lived near the monastery of Hua-yen start his journey. All the neighbors, men, women, and children, accompanied him to the first spring. He carried on his back, in a light wooden frame of thin laths, the felt mat on which he would sleep at night, a book of texts, a picture of Padma sambhava, the chief saint of the sect, some flour, butter, tea, a cauldron, and a small tent made of white cotton cloth. If, on the way, he should happen to lose one of these items, he is not allowed to replace it. He wore a long red coat, lined with sheepskin; on his head a red hat and over his eyes a green shade, with fringes. In his right hand he held the double-skull drum, and in the left hand the trumpet. He is not allowed to speak during his wandering from one spring to another, but mutters prayers all the way along, beating the drum at the same time.

Upon reaching the first spring he puts the frame down, blows three times on the trumpet in the direction of heaven, then starts the ritual dance three times around the spring to the time of the rattling drum, describing ritual designs on the ground. He beats the ground with his heel to the time of the drum beats, then stands on one leg, completely immobile, for a long time. Thereafter he pitches the tent, displays the picture, and sits crosslegged in front of the tent reciting texts for a long time. In the meantime, the villagers had prepared tea, and he starts talking with them. People are not allowed to indicate the spot of the next spring or to ask in what direction he will move the next day. He eats the meal offered by them. He is not allowed to drink alcoholic beverages, eat garlic, leeks, or radishes. He eats only mutton. The remains of the meal offered to him are not allowed to be

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carried home. Before sunset his meal has to be finished and the people gone. At this first spring he stays for seven days.

Twice a day he prepares tea and eats *tsamba* along the wayside. When people see a practicer of the rite passing near the village, they all follow him, prepare his tea and his evening meal. He enjoys the real veneration of all the Monguors and the Tibetans. He remains for seven days at the first spring, praying, dancing, three times during the day and three times during the night. It is said that during the night, the time of the demons, he summons all the demons of the country, wages his ritual war with them, subduing them, or making friends of them. At night he has a terrible time, exercising his magical abilities and increasing his magical capacities. The demons do not let him sleep a wink. All kinds of terrifying tales are spread in the country about his nightly experiences.[2]

At dawn he gathers stones and builds a small cairn; then he starts for the next springs, remaining only one day at each of them and performing the same rites. At the 54th spring he stays for seven days, as at the first one, then continues his pilgrimage until the 108th, where he again enacts seven-day rites. Then all the Red lamas of the country, the people of his village, the chiefs and elders of the neighboring villages come to meet him and lead him home in order to perform the final rite, which simulates the incineration of corpses and includes a recitation of texts together with all the lamas. Sitting on a throne in front of the ritual oven in which wood is burning, he pours boiling butter on the wood, acting like an officiant at a real incineration. After this rite he is heartily congratulated and receives some gifts: sheep, butter, tea, sugar, raisins. I never obtained an explanation of this last rite, or of its connection with the pilgrimage of the 108 springs.

Springs of water play an important part in the religious life of lamas and of the Monguors. It is not unusual to see lamas of the Yellow Sect, even Living Buddhas, sitting for hours in silence at the edge of a spring, slowly beating its surface with a flat broad lath. It is said that this practice produces happiness and peace of mind.

On the fifth of the fifth month the Monguors honor the spirit of the well from which they draw water. They make a *Wei-sang*[3] near the well, plant a stick to the top of which is affixed a bouquet, and prostrate themselves. The whole family wash their hands and faces with the water in the first bucket drawn, and rinse their mouths. Tea is prepared and all of them drink several cups, for it is said that this tea prevents all kind of diseases. At the same time they bury an urn near the well, thanking the spirit of the earth where

[2] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 126: also Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase*, 384, Paris, Payot, 1951.

[3] See Chap. VIII, note 2, p. 95.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the well bubbles, for providing them with water during the whole year.

HERMITS

In the region of Hsining there lived, around 1880–1895, only two hermits. One lived in the region of Waza in a cave in the mountains, and the other in the mountains around Hsien-mi. Both were strangers, who never divulged their names, or country of origin. They were not attached to any monastery and had no relations with the neighboring people. Each had a donkey which he used when he went to collect some flour and tea, for which they graciously thanked the donors and then returned to their caves. If some gifts were offered to them, they brought them to the monasteries and prostrated themselves before the closed doors of the temples for a whole day, and then returned to their caves without having said a single word to the lamas. The people said that they heard them reciting texts, ringing bells and beating drums the whole day long. Twice a day they built a fire and prepared their meals. They did not visit the people and did not like to have the people visit them; they refused all invitations to say prayers at the homes of the Monguors. During the terrible epizootics which decimated the cattle all over the country (1890–1893), they refused requests to pray for peace in the country. Their mysterious behavior intrigued the people, who could not get in touch with them. Then they disappeared, and nothing more was heard about them. They were not the kind of miracle workers so often described in records of travelers.

Monguors, talking about them, affirmed that in former times many lamas lived a sheltered life in caves, and possessed the art of working miracles.

In 1723, at the time of the revolt of the lamas and the destruction of the monastery of Seerkok where 2,000 lamas lived, it is said that the General Nien Keng-yao destroyed more than 1,000 caves in that country.[4] Because lamas in former times received the same education as at present, and were as eager for wealth and worldly glory as those of today, one is inclined to doubt such a fantastic number of hermits. I am inclined to think that genuine hermits did not grow on every bush, and that all these wonders and miracles did not occur at every street corner.

VI. SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is not an investigation of the origin of shamanism or its philosophy and religious fundamentals. Rather it aims to be a description of the type of the Monguor shaman, his training in 1911–1921, the spirits

[4] Han, Ju-lin, *Pien-cheng kung-lün*, 3 (I) : 47. The text does not say that recluses lived in them.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

more supplementary decrees of Galdan Hun-tai-ji were added to them.[56]

From 1558 until 1640, regulations of Mongol chiefs followed each other, aiming primarily at the destruction of shamanism. The Monguor shamans must have known these facts, for news spreads rapidly among barbarians. At the same time they saw the favors bestowed in the country on lamaseries, Karwas, and Nang-suos, by the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, and they saw Erh-ku-lung, at the height of its glory, founding successively its forty-two branches, each having celebrated lamas. Life or death was the question for the Monguor shamans of Hsining.

It is tempting to suppose that the shamans, living in the quasi-independent territories of the T'u-ssu, near cities in which lived Taoist priests who were organized in guilds officially recognized by the empire, might have sought refuge with the Taoists in order to save their institution and traditions and that they might willingly have entered the guild of the Taoists, whose gods they worshipped for centuries.

If the shamans themselves had been opposed to enrollment in the guild, which entailed pecuniary disadvantages for them and the performance of non-remunerative rites in the city, surely the T'u-ssu, whose subjects they were, could easily have prevented the infringement of the rights, since their Monguors were only responsible to them for corvées, and since their subjects were not enrolled in Chinese guilds. Precisely herein lies the stress of the assumption that without the willing cooperation of the shamans, shamans never could have entered the guild, and when they entered the guild it was through fear of persecution by the Yellow Sect. According to this assumption, the shamans could have entered the Taoist guilds before the revolt of the lamas in 1723 and the catastrophe which befell Lamaism. It is easy, therefore, to understand the reluctance of the shamans to perform any rites in the temples dedicated to deities of Lamaism or to wear the crown of the five Dhyani. On the other hand they willingly perform rites in all kinds of Taoist temples, except the temples of Kuan-ti (God of War). I never obtained an explanation of this; in the whole Monguor region no Kuan-ti temple exists, while all the temples of the Monguors, which are the centers of the religious life of the village, are Taoist temples, and most of the protectors of the families belong to Taoism. Monguors cannot miss their shamans who only perform rites in Taoist temples.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the Monguor shamans honor two kinds of spirits—one, spirits belonging to Taoism, and the other, spirits belonging to their shamanism proper; that the Monguor shamans are related to the group of old Wu priests

[56] V. A. Riasanovski, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buriats, Kalmuks)*, 29–35, 1929.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

of Tibet. Chinese laws, and the presence of their powerful enemies, the lamas, ready to harm their institution constrain them to act cautiously and to restrain their savage nature.

The rites against hail, performed after the rites just described, have been recorded in Chapter IX.

CULT OF THE MOUNTAINS

The cult of the mountains must be very old. It seems not to have originated in Lamaism, and does not fit in the frame of its philosophy, but rather to have been accepted and ritualized by it to a very large extent.

Concerning the Monguors it has been noted, that the Shat'o, like most of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, made sacrifices on top of the mountains and that the horse was their most important offering.[10] It is a fact of common knowledge that in old times the Mongols also honored the gods of the mountains. Chingis Khan lived in this atmosphere. Temuchin (Chingis Khan), in order to avoid a band of Merkits, galloped away to Mount Burkan Kaldun. Having escaped alive, he exclaimed, lifting his face to the sky: "Mount Burkan has protected my miserable life; henceforward, I will ever sacrifice to it and bequeath to my sons and grandsons the duty of sacrificing to it."[11]

The Monguors explain the cult of the Obos and of the sacred hill of the village by asserting that the country between the Ta-t'ung and Hsining Rivers belongs to five powerful spirits or deities who reside on the tops of the five highest mountains of the country, where celebrated Obos are built for them. These spirits claim the worship of the people living on their territory, grazing herds and farming. They are kind to their worshippers, protecting their herds and fields, but they punish the unbelievers. "It is our duty to honor them," say the Monguors earnestly, "for if we were remiss in our duty we would surely court disaster."

These five spirits do not possess the entire territory in a group, but each of them is supposed to wield power over the country surrounding its own mountain. Consequently it receives offerings and worship only from the people living within its supposed circumscription.

Besides these five important mountain spirits, other less important ones are honored, mostly on the passes or on higher mountains. Their cult is not general, but is practiced only by the people living near the passes and by travelers.

In connection with this peculiar mentality about the territory having its proprietors is to be noted the cult of the sacred hill honored in each Monguor village, for in

[10] Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers, op. cit.*, 91.

[11] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan, op. cit.*, 29. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The mountain of God*, A study in early religion and kingship, 7: 170, London, Bernard Quaritch, 1953: "Fundamentally the 'old Asiatic Religion' is the worship of the divinity of earth and its energies concentrated in some mountain and in the superhuman virtue of kingship." Reviewed by Clarence H. Hamilton in *Far Eastern Quart.* 13 (3): 370, 1954.

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the same way the territory of the village is supposed to have its owner who also resides on the sacred hill, not on the highest mountain of the village. This spirit lays the same claims to thorough ownership over the village's fields and obligatory worship from its inhabitants.

The Monguors and Shat'o, descendants of old nomads, who used to honor spirits residing on the tops of the highest mountains and to recognize them as the proprietors of the entire country, were unable to get rid of this old trend of mind. They must have applied the same religious notions to the sacred hill of their villages when they exchanged their nomadic economy for the agricultural, and so the change of economy not only brought about adaptations in the field of their social organizations, but also in the field of their religion and cults.

It is common knowledge that the notion and cult of a spirit proprietor of the earth are very old and widespread all over China also.[12] From the earliest times on, this spirit used to be honored in rudimentary shrines built in the fields by each farmer, and in a temple in each village, but the Monguors, old nomads, had to have a sacred hill and to have this spirit residing on top of a hill. Therefore, besides the cult of the five spirits of the five highest mountains, they practice the cult of the proprietor of the village on the sacred hill of the village. However, because the proprietor resides on a hill, they build a small Obo and plant a pole like that on the Obos built for the five big spirits. Several times I was told by Monguors that the cult of the sacred hill is the same as the cult of the earth god (T'u-ti-yeh) of the Chinese, and not the cult of a mountain spirit; that their earth god is the goddess Etogon; further, that the sacred hill is not the highest mountain situated in the boundaries of the village, but a hill or a notable elevation. Many villages do not have mountains inside their boundaries.

OBLIGATIONS TOWARD THE MOUNTAIN GODS

The behavior of the Monguors regarding the mountains and village gods seems to suggest that this cult is based on the principle of the ownership, the dominion of the country, by a god, and on the principle of its lordship over the people living on its territory. This dominion and lordship of the god is to be recognized by means of sacrifices and offerings.

The same frame of mind and philosophy concerning these gods is encountered all over Asia.[13] Buddha once enjoined his followers in India never to omit making an offering to the god of the spot where they were dwelling.[14]

In every lamasery of Huang-chung, therefore, is encountered a temple dedicated to the god of the spot oc-

[12] Maspero, *La Chine antique*, *op. cit.*, 204.

[13] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 598.

[14] de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme: Opinions et croyances*, 351. Paris, Beauchesne, 1909.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

cupied by the monastery. In big lamaseries the cult of this god resorts to the attributions of members of the college of rites.[15]

Every Monguor, together with his entire family in their best clothes, who attends the ceremony of the starting of the plowing of the fields, will honor in the fields the god of his fields, by burying an urn (called the precious bottle), making libations, burning incense, and offering bread. No Monguor will build a court yard, sheep or cow pen without burying an urn in the ground, thereby recognizing the lordship and dominion of the spirit of the spot, and obtaining his permission to occupy it. In the center of the courtyard, under the manikan and the manger, the Monguors used to bury five urns and invite a lama to recite texts for one, two or five days, sprinkling holy water and throwing spelt on them. This old rite has become a thoroughly Lamaist rite, to which each lama attaches his own mystical explanations.

However, frequently the Monguor invites a Chinese geomancer; he plants the manikan himself, buries the urn, and offers a sheep or a chicken. This principle is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of the Monguors that they will never proceed with the rite of the cremation of a corpse without having previously recognized the ownership of the god of the spot, and obtaining its permission by buying from it the spot required. Thus, the mountain and village gods seem to belong to the category of the earth gods for whom, in old China, victims and offerings were buried in the ground.[16] For that reason urns are buried for mountain and village gods as well as for earth gods.

The precious bottle (urn), the most important offering in the cult of the gods of the mountains, the village, and the earth, is usually prepared by a lama of the Yellow or the Red Sect, performing more or less elaborate rites, sometimes for days. He uses some powder of gold, some silver, coral, turquoise, and copper coins of the K'ai-yüan (713–741) and T'ai-p'ing (1850) periods, things which are said to comprise the five precious materials. He gathers some grains of five kinds of cereals, threads of five colors, different kinds of medicines, incense sticks, and some tea leaves. All these substances are pounded for a long time with a pestle in a mortar and poured into a small urn, while the lama blows on them and recites texts. Finally molten butter is poured into the urn, level with the opening. Two pictures are pasted on the urn: one of a Lamaist deity and one of the dragon spirit. The urn is covered with a piece of red cloth. The use of the urn is known all over China; such urns can be bought in all pharmacies, in lamaseries, from Taoist priests, and from shamans. The contents of the urn are not always the same, for several kinds are said to be used. Lamas make a business out of the urns, for usually the slightest unhappinesses, illnesses, and calamities, are

[15] David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet, op. cit.*, 100.
[16] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 205.

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said to be caused by the offended god of the spot who must be propitiated by the offering of an urn.

Consequently, these proprietors and lords of the country and the villages are supposed to extend their protection to their worshippers, blessing their herds and crops and preserving the country against hail, epidemics, and epizootics and providing propitious rain. No wonder that the temples in many villages are dedicated to the god of the mountain, and that one can read on village temples the inscription, "[may] the God of the Five Roads, the gods of the mountain and the village, protect the village."

The cult of the five important mountain gods will be dealt with first, followed by that of the sacred hill of the village.

CULT OF THE OBO

A mountain god is honored by means of an Obo.[17] On the top of the sacred mountain is planted a big pole which secures communication between spirits and man, even as at the time of the shamanist feast of spring, and the planting of the manikan in the courtyards. Stones, mostly white ones, are piled in a big heap around the pole, enclosed with a wooden fence, painted white. Sticks, very often shaped as spears and long arrows, often painted red at the top and black at the bottom, with a tassel of red wool attached to them, are planted in the stone heap, as well as some twigs of cypress. On the top of the pole, and on most of the sticks, are fixed prayer flags, pieces of white cloth on which prayers are written with Tibetan characters, and with the "Wind Horse" printed on them. To white and black ropes (of which one end is bound to the pole and the other to small poles or sticks fixed in the ground), are attached some shoulder bones and various small bones of sheep, small prayer flags, pieces of red dyed wool. Often some small stone heaps are built around the Obo; bigger flat stones form an offering table in front of the heap. No irreverent or immodest acts are permitted in front of the pole. No information was available concerning either the way of building Obos, or the items buried inside under the pole, because I knew nobody who had met the builders of Obos.[18]

THE FIVE GREAT OBOS IN THE COUNTRY

These five chief spirits, owners of the country, are not only honored on the tops of their respective mountains. Because it is impossible to climb the mountain every day, there is built for each of them, inside the monasteries of the Yellow Sect nearest the mountain, a small temple, in which lamas daily honor them. So, the temple of the spirit Amni Chokker of the Obo near the lamasery of Ch'u erh is built in that monastery. There is one exception: the small temple of the spirit

[17] Stress should be put on the correct meaning of the cult of the Obo so as not to identify it with the cult of Heaven, as so often happens in studies concerning the religion of the nomads.

[18] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 68–69.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Amni Chialip of the Obo in Waza is built inside the courtyard of a rich Tibetan, Manguru. I was told by him that every day he lit a taper and burned incense. Women, and girls, even his wife or daughter-in-law, were never allowed to enter the small temple. The same prohibition existed for the women against visiting this kind of temple in the monasteries.

When and how are the five owners of the country honored? On an auspicious day fixed by a lama, usually of the Red Sect, at the end of the fifth moon, and usually during the sixth moon, five delegates from every village assumed to be situated in the circumscription of the territory of the spirit, are sent to the mountain. They carry a tent and drive some sheep which have been washed and combed, with red paper pasted on their horns and ribbons attached to their fleece, and a piece of red cloth eight feet long on each of their backs. The men also bring some spears and arrows painted red and black, miniature bows, firecrackers and the famous "precious bottle" (the urn).

The first day, at evening, all the representatives of the villages pitch their tents at the foot of the celebrated mountain and pass the night in merrymaking. The next day, being the auspicious day, in the early morning the chief and the elders of the village, with a large crowd of villagers, arrive to attend the rites to be celebrated on top of the mountain. Chinese merchants pitch tents and do business at the foot of the mountain.

After breakfast all the chiefs of the villages with the villagers go to the Obo. One group after another sets off firecrackers before the Obo, plants in the stone heap spears and arrows, and attaches new flags and pieces of wool and bones, and reverently bury their precious bottle in a deep hole. On the crude offering table, the killed sheep is offered, broth is thrown first toward "Heaven" and then to the four points of the compass for "all the spirits," the famous Wei-sang rite is performed and libation made, while the groups kneel and prostrate themselves. After the rites of each village are performed by the chiefs, a group of lamas, mostly of the Red Church, perform on behalf of the entire community a big Wei-sang rite, beating drums, blowing horns, and chanting some prayers; they all turn three times around the obo.

In the afternoon at the foot of the mountain an immense crowd of men and women enjoy the horseraces and the wrestling,[19] singing and drinking. At sunset most of the people leave, but groups of young folk pass the night around the tents, merrymaking. On the morning of the third day, the tents are rolled up, all the

[19] L. M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes mongoles*, 76, Gembloux, Duculot, 1947. Description of the horse races in the sixth moon at the Obo by the Mongols of Outchimts'in and wrestling (on p. 109), attended by the author; also Owen Lattimore, *Mongol journeys*, 274, New York, Doubleday, 1941, with interesting description of the festivities attended by the chiefs of the Banners, etc.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

people leave, and the spirit of the mountain enjoys in undisturbed silence his ownership over the country. 795 796

Concerning the offering of sheep, Monguors assert that in former times their ancestors offered a horse on top of the mountains, but that at present, for lack of horses, a sheep is offered and not a pig, because the offer of a sheep is more convenient; a sheep can be driven to the top of the mountain, a pig has to be carried; the killing of a sheep takes less time and requires less utensils, which are not available on top of the mountain.

THE SICK OBO SPIRIT HEALED

The villages situated in the valley of Sha-t'ang, belonging to the circumscription of the big spirit of the celebrated Obo Lung-wang, had poor crops, spoiled by very bad hailstorms, for three years in succession. The saying went that the vitality of the spirit was declining and that it could no longer prevent these terrific calamities. The shamans were invited to restore its debilitated strength. The chiefs and elders of all the villages together with the inhabitants went in a group to the Obo, with a group of shamans, headed by drums and flags. A big cypress fire was built; the people knelt around the Obo with incense sticks in their hands. The shamans, beating drums, danced in front of the Obo; the eldest among them, in pathetic terms, invited the sick spirit to sit down in the midst of its devoted worshippers. He spoke to the spirit in the sweetest way, just as if he was in its presence and was seeing it, caressing, consoling, and comforting the old spirit. He invited it to look at the kneeling worshippers, and protested that they really loved it, and the shamans would offer a dance in order to entertain the old spirit. 782 756

After the dance was performed, in the most gracious way, the sick spirit was supposed to be happy. The shaman, like a good mother, persuaded the spirit to take some medicines in the most affable way. He said that he had prepared for it the most efficient medicine, that it had never failed to restore the strength of Obo spirits. The shaman dug a deep hole near the Obo. The precious bottles of each village were put into it first, then a box containing seventy living snakes [20] of different kinds and colors. The shaman explained to the spirit the different kinds of ailments healed by the different kinds of snakes, and then the hole was filled up. Each village offered its sheep, firecrackers were set off, prostrations, libations and Wei-sang rites were conducted, and a last dance was performed by the shamans. Then the medical performance was closed. The spirit was supposed to be bursting with vitality again,

[20] Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 182. The Tungus use the snakes for making poisonous bullets. The big snake is styled by the shamans the most important spirit who gives advice to the shaman, p. 246. See also Waddell, *op. cit.*, 368, *Snakes and Nagas*; also Heissig, *op. cit.*, 48, Spirits who cause diseases flee from the snakes.

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and the group then marched three times around the Obo. I heard the details of this unusual rite from Monguors who had attended the ceremony. 782 756

Just as women are not allowed to enter the temples of the spirits of the Obo, and are excluded from the rites performed at the top of the Obo in the sixth moon, they were also excluded from these rites of restoration of the forces of the spirit of the Sha-t'ang valley. It is for this reason that the Obo festivities, horse races, wrestling, in the sixth moon, are performed at the foot of the mountain, so that women can attend. When women encounter an Obo on their way, they always avoid passing in front of it—the "front" being usually the south or southeast. [562]

The mentality of the Monguors regarding the spirit of the Obo explains their reverence for them. A Monguor will always dismount from his horse when he passes an Obo. He will never fail to add some white stones to the heap, to cry at the top of his voice, honoring the spirit, to prostrate himself nine times, to throw some coins, some flour, a roll of bread on the stone heap, or to smear some butter on the offering table.[21]

It is not only the common people who act in this way. I saw the T'u-kuan Living Buddha, when passing the Obo of Sung-hua-ting, send some lamas ahead to perform the rite of Wei-sang.

CULT OF THE SACRED HILL OF THE VILLAGE

The cult of the sacred hill of the village is performed like the cult of the Obos. A small Obo is built on top of the hill, and a pole is erected. Under the pole is buried the "precious bottle" (urn), the specific offer to the earth god; ropes with flags are attached to the pole and spears planted in the stone heap piled around the pole. Obviously, the dimensions of this Obo are smaller than those of the Obos of the five mountain spirits, and perhaps because of this they are not called Obo, but the "sacred hill of the village." [22] 795 782

On New Year's each family sends a member to the sacred hill to enact the rite of Wei-sang and libation. On the fifteenth of the first moon the chiefs of the villages, with the elders and the inhabitants, officially go to the sacred hill, offering a sheep, performing Wei-sand, burying an urn, and making a libation. On the third of the fifth moon a similar group performs the same rites, in order to strengthen the vitality of the spirit of the sacred hill, which, according to the Monguors, must be in full strength in order to help avert hailstorms. Epidemics and epizootics are supposed to be caused by the outraged spirit of the sacred hill, which must be propitiated by a sheep offering and Wei-sang rite, performed by the whole village. [753]

Devout people go on the first and fifteenth of the month to perform Wei-sang and libation. Monguors

[21] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 63.

[22] R. Rahmann, Remarks on the sacrifice of Heaven of the Na-khi, *Monumenta Serica* 13: 406 *sqq.*, 1948.

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devoted to the practice of throwing in the wind slips of paper on which are printed the Buddhist "flying wind horses" are accustomed to performing this rite on the top of the sacred hill. 795 782

It is not permitted to cut wood, to graze animals, or to hunt on the sacred hill. In old China, the god of the earth was the tree itself, planted in a small forest.[22] The Monguors plant the Obo post in the hill, and do not allow the cutting of bushes growing on it, or the grazing of cattle. In every village the sacred hill is very conspicuous, because of the wealth of the bushes growing on it which seem to create the illusion of a small forest.

CONCLUSION

The worshipping of the mountain gods consists in the sacrifice of a sheep (or a horse), the burying of an urn, the planting of spears, the lighting of a cypress fire, prostrations, and marching three times around the Obo.

All these rites are performed by the villagers, led by the chiefs and elders. After these rites are performed, lamas start reciting texts, beating drums, and making *tormas*. This fact seems to reveal that the lama rites are additional rites of later times, that the cult of the mountain gods existed long before the lamas appeared in the country, and was performed by the communities without them. The cult preserves the old ritual used at the worshipping of the mountain gods.

The old philosophy concerning the nature of the mountain gods, their dominion over the country and control over its people, is still fresh and living. It is clearly manifested by the burying of an urn, the specific, grateful offer to a god who is regarded as owner of the earth, which contains the specimens of all the kinds of blessings and treasures provided by the earth. This philosophy places the mountain gods in the category of the earth gods. It is typical also that in every urn they never fail to put an offering of medicines, which reveals the philosophy concerning the decay of the gods whose lives have to be nursed and reinvigorated. [772]

However, the Monguors could not explain the meaning of the planting of the spears near the pole. The explanations encountered in books relating to this puzzle seem to be unsatisfactory and arbitrary.

Taking account of this philosophy and the religious environment in which the Monguors live, claiming to have gods and Tengris as proprietors and dominators of the country, it seems easy to understand that little room is left for thinking about a God, Creator of the Universe, and that this notion is completely absent in their philosophy. Only once is the "Spirit of Heaven" recalled during the performance of the whole rite on top of the mountain—at the time the broth of mutton is ladled and thrown to the four points of the compass, honoring all the gods and spirits. However, the "Spirit of Heaven" is called first and the offering is made first

[22] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 168. [p. 116(A)]

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to it, in the way the Monguors are used to doing at the time of the offering to the guardian deity of the family.[24]

RITES OF AUTUMN

THANKSGIVING RITE

The autumn feast, called by the Monguors "Thanksgiving meeting," is intended as an act of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped.

In the ninth or the tenth month, when the harvest is reaped and threshed, the chief of the village convenes with the elders to agree upon the choice of the shamans who should be invited, and upon the manager and the helpers who should be appointed in order to prepare the feast. Usually small villages invite one shaman, bigger villages two or four; the number of the shamans invited depends also on the abundance or meagerness of the harvest. The shamans are usually chosen from among those who performed the rites in spring or the rites against hail.

The appointed manager of the ceremonies goes, taking with him a bottle of wine, the ceremonial scarf, and an invitation written on red paper "to the master of magic, so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads"; he fixes with him the date for the ceremony, suiting his convenience. At that time the shamans are very busy performing the same rites in a number of villages. Because the rites of spring had been performed by shamans, shamans should be invited for the present rite and not lamas or Taoist priests.

Each family of the village contributes its part of the required wheat flour for the steaming of rolls, the needed barley for the distillation of wine, and cash for buying the sacrificial hog or sheep. Big villages sacrifice a hog, small villages a sheep. The appointed preparers of rolls and wine take the oath not to eat the rolls or to drink the wine before they have been offered to the spirits.

The evening before the feast day, the shamans and their apprentices arrive in order to prepare the pole and flag, to paste paper banners and streamers, and to print some Chinese inscriptions on red paper. The items are fixed and pasted on the walls and doors of the temple yard, the display of red and green and yellow paper banners turning the usual feeling of monotony and loneliness of the temple yard into one of joy and happiness.

The ceremony starts in the early morning at sunrise, with the erection of the pole. On top of the pole a white cloth flag is attached on which are printed Tibetan prayers or cabalistic designs. To the middle of the pole paper streamers are attached. While the pole is being put down into the hole of the big stone, designated for that purpose, the shamans beat the drums, build a fire in the yard, throw some cypress leaves into it, and sprinkle water on it. On windy days stones are heaped

[24] See Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 96, for the more elaborate Obo cult in the Narobanchin territory; 178, among the Chahar Mongols; 256, Dagor Mongols.

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villages neighboring the Monguors? This assumption, it seems, should be considered because of the fact that so many Chinese who use the formula are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and that so many Monguors who have lost their identity to the extent of having lost their own language, and being ashamed to assert their Monguor origin, boast of being Chinese, and of belonging to a more civilized culture.[25]

XI. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITHOUT REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

SACRED ANIMALS IN PRIVATE FAMILIES

Monguors do not honor the "spirit of Heaven" as a family deity nor do they perform, at present, bloody or non-bloody sacrifices to Heaven. Non-bloody sacrifices, in which the animal is not killed but allowed to wander at will, are a real economic sacrifice because the animal cannot be sold or put to profitable use; but this practice does not really fit the frame of an agricultural economy because the sacred animals cause a lot of damage in the fields. It even happens, as has been noted, that persons are injured and killed by sacred bulls. No wonder that the Chinese, devoted to agriculture, do not practice this rite in China. The Monguors, however, are very fond of the rite, which originated in the nomadic economy, and this fact betrays the original economy in which their ancestors lived.

Almost every Monguor family has its own consecrated animal, which usually is a female sheep—seldom a ram.

On the third day of the New Year, the animal is led into the courtyard. The whole family is in a hustle and bustle washing the feet and the fleece of the animal, and devotedly combining the fleece. Never before has the animal enjoyed such a fine appearance. The sheep is led into the living room before the picture of the deity protector of the family. All the members of the family kneel devoutly with burning incense sticks in their joined hands. They look on with feverish anxiety as the chief of the family pours milk, mixed with water, first on the head of the animal, then into its ears. The sheep frantically shakes its head and at that very moment the whole family starts prostrating itself three times toward the picture of the deity and then toward the animal, smiling, crying with happy enjoyment *"ling liao"* ("the deity accepts our offer"). Thus, the animal is supposed to be consecrated. The family are in a happy mood, with a gleam in their eyes, for the deity will protect the cattle. The more frantically the sheep shakes its head, the better it augurs for the future.

The incense sticks are planted before the picture of the deity honored in the family and the chief of the family and all its members attach red and yellow ribbons

[25] Schröder, Das Herbst-Dankopfer der T'u-jen im Sining-Gebiet, *Anthropos* 37–40: 867, 1952.

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to the ears of the sheep and all over its fleece. Everybody endeavors to attach a couple of ribbons.

The sheep will join the herd as before; its wool will be sheared twice a year, as is done for the other sheep, but it will never be killed and will be allowed to die naturally. If it dies during the year, next New Year's another one will be consecrated and will take its place, for every family has to have its sacred animal.

But what if the sheep does not shake its head? This is conclusive proof that the deity is angry and ill disposed toward the family. Dread and terror instantly show upon their faces. All the members of the family, startled and panic stricken, look at one another distressed, dejected, and in deep gloom, for everybody feels that this fact bodes ill for the future. Bowing their heads to the ground and lifting their hearts in humble entreaty, they beg pardon and ask the deity to overlook their offences, to accept the offer. Then milk is poured again, and if the sheep still obstinately refuses to shake its head, it is finally removed.

Then, in the living room, the situation is examined to be sure the predicament is of their own making. Maybe they had been too remiss in honoring the deity; maybe the spirit does not like the discord and resentment reigning in the family; maybe the deity wants a more valuable sacrifice? After renewed prostrations and promises for the future, the conclusion is always that the only hope remaining is to consecrate a more valuable animal, a young female mule, for they know that it is impossible to get around the spirit and defy it with impunity, and that anybody who tampers with its plans is riding for a fall.

The female mule is led into the courtyard and washed; tail and mane are combed. Two red hot stones are dropped in a utensil containing boiling water, which is adjusted under the nose of the animal so that the vapors may enter the nostrils, purifying the animal interiorly, as it has been cleansed exteriorly. The animal is led through the door of the living room, and in front of the picture of the deity. Milk, mixed with water, is poured on its head and in its ears—the head shakes. Ribbons are attached on mane and tail. The animal will be used in the same way as other animals, but never will it be sold. It is allowed to die a natural death.

The Monguors whom I asked for explanations always replied in the same way, that the rite is always performed only on the third of the New Year, by the head of the family, without Red or Yellow lamas or shamans; that the animal is always consecrated to the guardian deity of the family, inside the living room, in front of the picture of the guardian deity. Because the "spirit of Heaven" or "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored as family protectors, the animal is never consecrated to the "spirit of Heaven" or to "Heaven and all the spirits."

If it happens that the family spirits are the spirits of the mountains, the rite is always performed in the

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same way in the living room, never outside. They said that the aim of the rite is to obtain blessings upon the cattle and their reproduction, and that therefore gelded or old animals are never used. The custom excludes the use of donkeys, hogs, hens, and dogs. Custom does not allow the family to sell or to eat its sacred animal. They all said that the rite was never performed because persons in the family were smitten with severe diseases, or calamities had overcome the family, since other specific rites exist to obviate these miseries. The rite is only intended for the reproduction of animals and to give thanks for blessings upon them. They also said that the staff spirit was never consulted when a new animal had to take the place of the former. The shaking of the head of the animal, when milk mixed with water was poured upon its head and in its ears, was sufficient evidence that the animal was accepted by the family protector. These notes do not agree completely with those of Dom. Schröder in his very interesting article "Die Tierweihe," (*op. cit.*, 839). I write them down according to my notes which I checked many times, because the rite interested me very much.

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According to the explanation of the Monguors the rite does not intend to make of the animal an "animal spirit"; the animal is not possessed by the spirit. The aim is to offer to the family protector an animal for which, if the spirit does not agree, a more valuable offer is substituted. When it agrees, however, they all cry: "The offer is accepted!" Because the animal is accepted by the spirit, it partakes of the respect of the family and prostrations are made to the spirit and to its animal. If the rite were a shamanistic rite, the shaman, who is always at hand, would certainly have been invited to perform it.[1]

Poor families must have their sacred animal also, and for this purpose they exceptionally use a rooster, very seldom a he-goat; the ritual for the consecration is the same. Every year, on the third of the New Year, the sacred animal is presented to the deity in the living room, washed, combed, and lavishly adorned with ribbons, while the family prostrates itself. If the sacred animal is a mule, it must be fed on that day with bread. Milk is poured on the animal only once, on the day of the consecration.

The rite must be very old, and must have belonged to a nomadic economy in which horses were offered. At present the rite continues to persist, but it is performed with other animals.[2]

Among the Mongols of Ordos, the rite of the sacred animal is well known and widely practiced today. The animal is consecrated to all kinds of deities, Chingis-

[1] Garma Sandschejew, Weltanschauung und Shamanismus der Alaren Burjaten. *Anthropos* 23: 938, 1928.

[2] It is worth while to note that the rites of the sacred animals of the communities and of the private families are performed on the Chinese New Year (which usually occurs in February) at the time the lambs are born, the happy time of the harvest of the nomads.

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Khan included (for Chingis is a devoutly honored deity), to the fire and to the Obo. The rite is performed in private families by lamas. Stallions are consecrated besides other animals.[3] The tenets of the religion of the Mongols seem to be as confused as those of the religion of the Monguors.

The rite used to be performed by the Turks.[4] Marco Polo, traveling through Turkistan on the way to Peking, notes the rites of the sacred animal—in this case a sheep.[5]

This rite is not to be confused with the well-known rite of the aspersion with milk of mares after the summer solstice. On an auspicious day the mares are milked and the milk is immediately mixed with sour cow's milk, so that it will become sour after a few minutes. This sour milk is thrown to the four points of heaven, with a wooden ladle, while prayers are said. The rite is performed in honor of all kinds of deities of Lamaism; all kinds of gods of heaven; of Chingis, his wives, his sons, and companions; to the spirits of mountains.[6]

CULT OF THE FIRE

A very old element of the old religion of the Turco-Mongols is the cult of the fire, whose specific offer was butter.[7] This cult had already existed in the arctic culture, "wir gehen wohl nicht fehl wenn wir wenigstens die Wurzeln irgendeine religiösen Feuer Kultus schon in die arktischen Urkultur eingesenkt lassen."[8] Fire is supposed to carry the offerings to the supreme deity.[9] It is one of the essential elements of the old religion of the nomads.[10] Among the Ch'i-tan, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, received considerable attention during winter.[11] Among the Ch'i-tan, the burning of big fire-wood was originally

[3] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore ordos*, *op. cit.*, 1 seq. Prof. Schuyler Cammann encountered in Ordos a sacred yearling camel wearing a necklace of sheep scapulas—it could never be ridden by man. *The land of the camel*, 167, New York, Ronald Press, 1951.

[4] Herman Vambery, *Das Turkenvolk*, 122, 1885.

[5] Yule-Cordier, 1: 207, 1929.

[6] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 315-322, 331. Father Mostaert also notes (*Monumenta Serica* 1: 335, n. 19, 1935) that among the Mongols this rite, which is performed by laymen, is not specifically for Heaven but for all the Burkhans, Tengris, etc. The koumis (mare's milk) is cast from a ladle toward the four points of heaven; there is not a ladle-full for Heaven alone. This rite follows the summer solstice, by which time the colts have been born. It seems to be a thanksgiving rite, a rite of first fruits, specifically enacted for the reproduction of the horses. The Monguors, no longer having herds of horses, lack this rite.

[7] W. Koppers, Die Indogermanenfrage in Lichte der historischen Volkerkunde, *Anthropos* 30: 23, 1935; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* 10: 70-76; 9: 228-241, 534-535.

[8] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 550.

[9] *Ibid.* 3: 555.

[10] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 136, 1925.

[11] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *op. cit.*, 214 and 239.

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If, however, black and white rites do not work, the Monguors call for the Taoist priest, who paints all the items used (the wood, etc.), with a coat of goat blood. He binds the logs in a bundle by means of goat guts, and sprinkles goat blood upon the burning fire. The rite is called the "red Wei-sang."

These facts give evidence of the importance attached by the Monguors to the fire for purifying from uncleanliness and preventing harm caused by evil spirits. They show their devotion for the fire by having a big cypress fire kindled during the performance of religious rites and the most important moments of life, as at marriages or the celebration of the sixtieth birthday. However, fire does not only play an important role in the life of the Monguors in the open air; its role is as important in the private life of the families where it is worshipped under the form of the "fire of the hearth," the "hearth god."

THE HEARTH FIRE

Among the Monguors, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, the cult of the hearth god belongs entirely to the department of the women. Everywhere, the temple of the hearth god is the kitchen.

No wonder that the hearth god is supposed to be interested in a special way in the fecundity of the wives and the protection of the children, and that it is honored at fixed times by its own ritual.

FIRE AND FECUNDITY

When the Monguor bride arrives at the home of the bridegroom, she does not prostrate herself before her parents-in-law or before the guests, but is led straight to the kitchen. Here she worships the god of the hearth giving three prostrations, burning incense, offering a bottle of wine and her chopsticks, which she has brought with her.

It was noted in the first volume of this study that the youngest couple in the family always lives in the kitchen, where the god of the hearth is honored, because the Monguors say that in that way fecundity is assured. Women who have plenty of children and do not wish to have more will leave the kitchen and live in another room. It has been noted that, among the Mongols, the youngest son inherits his father's hearth, occupies his tent, and is called the prince of the fire.

When poor people cannot afford the luxury of a lavish marriage, nor invite guests, they marry the young couple in the kitchen "before the god of the hearth." The makeup of the new bride is done before the god of the hearth and not in the living room.[19]

An unusual practice relates to the fecundity assumed to be bestowed on women by means of the cult of the spirit of the fire (and of the god of the hearth). On the fifteenth of the first moon, at night, on the edge of the big threshing floor of the village, a number of small heaps of cypress boughs are kindled. While musicians

[19] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les Tou-jen du Kansu*, 39.

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beat drums and play mandolins, all the younger wives and their husbands pursue each other, jumping over the fire heaps, merrymaking. No wives or husbands would miss this practice, for the tradition goes that it provides fecundity. However, the Yassa forbids jumping over the fire.[20]

Professor N. Poppe notes that among the Mongols the spirit of the fire is represented riding a he-goat, and that the he-goat is a symbol of fecundity, as Plano Carpini already noted.[21] This note of Professor Poppe evidences the existence of the fact that a relation existed between the fire god and fecundity in olden times. The Monguors seem not to know the existence of the god of the fire riding the he-goat, although they know that the hearth god secures fecundity. The hearth god also procures fecundity among the Buriats.[22]

FIRE AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE CHILDREN

The god of the hearth not only provides fecundity to the daughters-in-law, but it protects their children. On the second of the second moon is performed the rite of consecration of the children to the god of the hearth. In the very early morning, before boiling water for washing and making tea, the mother roasts some handfuls of spelt in the cauldron and after them some handfuls of peas. Husband and wife spread them devoutly in the courtyard in front of the door. Then the elders clip some hair from the foreheads of the children under thirteen years of age, and cut the nails on their fingers. Hair and nail parings are carefully put in a cup and covered with a red cloth. The cup is placed before the picture of the hearth god and a copper coin placed on top of it. All members of the family prostrate themselves nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and the incense sticks are then fixed before the picture of the hearth god. On the twenty-fourth of the twelfth moon, at the time the god starts its journey to Heaven, the contents of the cup are burned in the hearth, together with the picture of the god. The Monguors explain this as the yearly rite of consecration of the children to the hearth god.

CULT OF THE HEARTH GOD

Rite at the End of the Year

The most important rites in honor of the spirit of the hearth are performed at its departure for Heaven, and at its coming back from Heaven, for so important a benefactor must receive the highest honors possible, and the most affectionate greetings. This is true all over China. Men do not attend these rites.

The spirit of the hearth of the Chinese starts its journey to heaven on the twenty-third of the last moon of the year, on horseback or on a mule. The spirit of

[20] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 73.

[21] Poppe, *op. cit.* 2: 135. See also n. 15, above, for Agni, the Hindu god, riding a ram.

[22] *Ibid.*, 301.

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the Monguors starts its journey in the same way on the twenty-fourth of the same moon. Before that day, all daughters-in-law on holiday at their mothers' have to be back, for the cult of the spirit is entrusted to the women. This rule is kept most rigidly.

At evening, after supper, the women don their makeup and put on their best dresses, while the children are clad in their New Year's dresses. Grandmother and the daughters-in-law and the children kneel before the image of the spirit, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The grandmother presents and puts in front of the spirit a boiled chicken and twelve rolls of steamed bread, and kindles the oil lamp. Prostrations are made and paper is burned in the oven. Then the participants, sitting on the floor chatting, recall the events of the whole year. When the lamp is nearly burned out, the offerings are removed. Some straw is spread in the oven, on which the picture of the spirit is placed. Twelve small bundles of hay, some peas (horses are fed with peas in the country), and three or four rolls are placed on the image, as well as the cup containing hair and nail parings of the children. The straw is kindled. The participants prostrate themselves and bow. The grandmother says: "Good deity, you know all that has happened in the family during the year; you know our deficiencies and shortcomings. Please do not tell about them when you arrive in Heaven, but rather, speak about our pitiable living conditions, our miseries, our afflictions, our poor cattle. Please come back soon. Do not linger in Heaven for too long a time, as we need you very much; we will wait for you on the thirtieth at midnight. Bring with you children for my daughters-in-law—boys are preferable to girls. Bring health for all of us; bring riches and wealth, and blessings for the cattle." If some member of the family becomes ill at that time, or if one of the daughters-in-law is childless, all these facts are entrusted to the spirit and put on its knees with confidence. The fire in the oven is extinguished, and the good spirit is on the way, enjoying his ride to Heaven.

This is one of the most intimate prayers the Monguors say in a group in the family. The same rite is performed among the Chinese in the same affectionate way and almost in the same terms, and it may be that the Monguors borrowed it from them.

The spirit of the hearth seems to be the envoy of Heaven, whose duty appears to be the supervision of the doings of the families. It seems to be very potent, for it is able to obtain in Heaven all kinds of blessings in behalf of its protégés.

The next day the wall is whitewashed and the kitchen is cleansed. On the thirtieth, at evening, a new image is pasted on the wall, in front of which is placed a chicken, four rolls, a lamp and incense sticks. At midnight, after the fire is worshipped in the courtyard, Heaven and all the spirits are honored on the roof, and the guardian deity in the living room. The family pros-

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trates itself before the spirit of the hearth, congratulates it, and is happy, for the spirit is supposed to have come back at that very moment with a load of blessings. In the early morning the elders will honor it also.

Several times I asked the Monguors whom the spirit of the hearth was going to see in Heaven. The answer was always: "Our women claim, as do the Chinese, that the hearth god is going to see 'Old Father Heaven.' It is true that the spirits are everywhere, and the women know it; but on that night they say the same thing that the Chinese say."

Rites During the Year

Every time women prepare food, the first bowl is always offered devoutly to the hearth god.

On the fifth of the fifth moon, steamed rolls, shaped like flowers, are offered to the spirit of the hearth, and willow boughs adorn its image. Nobody could explain the connection between the willow and the spirit of the hearth. (Is it a Chinese custom?)

It has been noted above that steamed rolls, prepared with the flour of the spelt of the new harvest, and a lamp kindled with the new oil of the year, are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the fifteenth of the eighth moon, rolls and a chicken are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the eighth of the last moon of the year, a piece of ice is put before it. (Is this a Chinese custom?)

If a member of the family has been smitten with a severe disease, old people claim that the spirit of the hearth is angry and taking in ill grace the uncleanliness of the women for having let milk drip in the fire, or for having poured water on it and on the ashes, or for poking the fire with an iron rod. In that event, rolls, wine, and chicken are offered and prostrations are made. Sometimes a sheep is offered, and a lama is invited to pray in propitiation before the image of the spirit of the hearth.

When eyes are sore, or when there is trouble with scalp and hair, the spirit of the hearth has to play physician. Before the image, a red-hot stone is put in a pot of water in which aromatic leaves of wild mint are boiled. The sick man, after prostrating himself, bows over the pot and is steamed by the vapors and healed. The same rite is used to purify the sacred animal at New Year's.

It is noteworthy that the shaman is never invited by the Monguors to honor the fire or the spirit of the hearth, although once in a while a lama is invited to perform a propitiating rite. That department, like that of the sacred animal, seems to be foreign to them.

IMAGE OF THE HEARTH GOD

The old Monguors are accustomed to paste on the wall a sheet of white paper. In the middle of the paper is pasted vertically a short but wide yellow paper ribbon, under which is pasted, horizontally, a large red-fringed paper ribbon, said to be the skirt of the spirit.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The bewilderment concerning the sex of the god of the hearth and its social position is astonishing. Sometimes the god seems to be a married couple, sometimes a single female, or a single male. The traditional picture made by the Monguor women themselves offers a definite solution concerning the sex of "their" hearth god. The traditions concerning the fecundity attached to it seem connected with the Mongol king of the fire riding a he-goat, nothwithstanding that the Monguors are unable to give any reason for this connection, and do not know anything about the existence of this he-goat rider. Maybe the solution of the puzzle is to be sought in the suggestion of Granet, that two spirits are involved, the spirit of the fire which is a male, and the god of the hearth which is a female.

OFFERING TO HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS

THE FAMILY OFFERING AFTER THE HARVEST

After the spelt is cut, some sheaves are immediately carried home and threshed. The grain is ground on the stone, which is cleansed carefully. The women steam thirteen rolls of bread made with the newly ground flour. All members of the family climb on top of the roof in their best dresses and kneel, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the family lifts up to Heaven the salver with the thirteen steaming rolls and shouts three times, at the top of his voice, the usual "*Mtchioo*" and "Heaven and all the spirits." The whole family prostrates itself thankfully for the new harvest. Crumbs of bread are thrown to the four points of the compass. The Monguors say that the crumbs must be thrown in this way in order to feed the roaming, hungry, malignant spirits of the deceased, who always are on the prowl to harm the people.

The family comes down and offers the same rolls to the guardian spirit of the family, and to the spirit of the hearth, and then the whole family eats the rolls steamed with the new flour of the year.

In autumn, when linseed and colza seed are cut and the new oil is pressed, the same rite is performed with the new oil. A lamp with the new oil is kindled on the roof of the house with the usual prostrations and shoutings, another is kindled for the guardian spirit of the family, and another for the spirit of the hearth. The Tibetans in the country perform the same rite and the Chinese do also, but the Chinese thank only the "Old Father Heaven" and not "Heaven and all the spirits."

THE OFFERING OF THE SHEEP

It has been noted above that whenever a sheep is offered to a deity in the family, first of all a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown in the court yard for "Heaven" separately, with shouts of "Heaven" and no more; that a second piece is cut and thrown in the same way, with a shout of "all the spirits," and that

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after this rite is performed the sheep is offered to the guardian deity of the family. The Ordos Mongols perform the same rite for "Heaven" only, when for a dinner a whole sheep is presented in its entirety to the guest.[29]

CALENDAR OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

At home, at midnight on New Year's, while the old parents are still sleeping, the family starts kindling a big fire, with wood and cypress boughs, in the courtyard before the sacred pole for "Heaven and all the spirits," and prostrates itself three times. The fire is not allowed to go out the whole day. On the roof of the living room, or in the courtyard before the pole, offerings are put on a small table: rolls of bread steamed or baked in oil, raisins, butter, wine. Holding Chinese incense sticks in their hands, the family prostrates itself nine times, crying: "Heaven and all the spirits protect us during the whole year." They sprinkle some wine to the cardinal points and throw out some crumbs of bread for hungry malignant souls. Then they bring the offerings down from the roof in order to perform the same rite with the same offerings before the guardian deity of the family, the spirits of the fire, the pole, the hearth, the gate, and the stables, and fix a Chinese incense stick before each of them. At dawn the elders, upon arising, enact the same rite in the courtyard for "Heaven and all the spirits." At evening, from the first until the fifteenth of the first month, a lantern is hung on the pole in the courtyard, sticks of incense are fixed at the door, and the whole family prostrates itself every day before the door and pole saying. "We prostrate ourselves for Heaven and all the spirits and the spirit of the door and of the pole.[30]

Before sunrise, several pieces of ice are put on top of the walls of the courtyard of the families in which no persons have died during the year.

After the elders finish their worshipping, they sit on the k'ang in order to receive the congratulations of the family. The eldest son presents them with a cup of wine, and the family prostrates itself nine times. The daughters-in-law make three prostrations to their husbands, and the youngest brothers and sisters prostrate themselves before the eldest three times, and then before each other in the same way. Then follows the traditional speech of the grandfather, well known over the country: "Rise early in the morning, work till late at night, tend the herds carefully, and spend your full energy on the fields, and all live peacefully together and forgive each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. I hope that Heaven and all the spirits will bless you, in order that you may build seven farm houses several stories high, may shear the wool of hundreds of sheep,

[29] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*, 489: 590, Peiping, 1947 (Monograph 11 of *Monumenta Serica*).

[30] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 625, *Das Neujahrsfest*, gives more details about New Year's.

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guardian deity do not like the cult of the twelve Tengris, 771
although these are considered the most potent protectors 776
among the spirits. The reason alleged is that these 592
spirits are very touchy and do not allow any lukewarmness in their cult and frequently during the year they urge the offering of a sheep. Therefore, the families which honor them are all families which continue a cult initiated generations ago.

However, families whose children are weakly like to dedicate them for thirteen years to the Twelve Tengris, and after thirteen years perform the rite of liberation from the dedication, and nurture the rooster of longevity. (See Part I: 102–103.)

There still exists an unusual custom concerning the cult of the Twelve Tengris for which I never found an explanation. It is customary that the images of guardian deities should be hung on the northern wall in the living room. The image of the Twelve Tengris, however, is never hung, but is kept rolled up during the whole year and put on the offering table along the wall. Only on the first of the first moon, at New Year's, is it hung for three days, and all the members of the families who, before the division of the extended family group, honored these Twelve Tengris and at present honor other deities as their protectors, are bound to come during these three days to worship the Twelve Tengris of their ancestors.

Another emotional but important reason for preferring the cult of a Taoist deity is that the families enjoy more the rite celebrated by the shaman at home for a Taoist family deity, than the rite performed for a Lamaist family deity. The lamas do not in fact honor the ancestors. They recite texts for one or seven days, make a *torma*, and the monotonous and tedious rite is finished. Because an emotional element governs the choice of the family deity, an outline of the shamanist rite will best explain what is involved.

CULT OF THE FAMILY GUARDIAN DEITY

The biennial or triennial rite is performed in the 795
eleventh month. On the first day of the celebration, 756
the same preparations are made by the shamans and 782
their apprentices as at the feast of the spring in the 592
temple of the village, but on a more reduced scale, in- 776
cluding pasting of banners and streamers, planting of the pole, binding of the rope, baking and steaming of rolls, offering of sheep, thrones for the ancestors, the hearth god, spirits of the horses, the gate, and for the protector spirits of each of the families of the brothers.

At midnight "Heaven and all the spirits" are worshipped in the courtyard by the whole family. Firecrackers are set off. On the morning of the second day the spirits are invoked and come down along the rope. Among them are the gods of the hearth, the granaries, the stables, the doors, the grindstone, the fertilizers, the well, the horses, the cows, and the last three generations of ancestors. There are the usual prostrations, in-

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cense, and libation for the throne of the ancestors. The spirits are greeted and the offerings enumerated. The shaman holds a long dialogue with the ancestors, asking whether they are happy and will protect the descendants, and makes promises. The whole group enjoys sitting before the gods and the ancestors. The rite of the greeting of the Goddess of Joy and all the performances connected with it are omitted, but at evening follow the lighting of the lamps, the making of the bridge, and the departure of the spirits. 795 756 782 592 776

The spirits remain only one day. At night no soul is taken outside the courtyard to nurture the spirits, but during a last wild dance the chief of the shamans jerks off the head of a chicken and the guardian deity of the family is nurtured with its reeking blood. The head of the chicken is put under a box for seven days, the pole is taken down, and jujubes are gathered. After the shamans leave the courtyard, the fire in the hearth is not allowed to die out for seven days, and for seven days no guests or friends are admitted. No food is given to anybody, not even to beggars, no items are loaned out, no animals are sold, and the animals sold before that time are not allowed to be led away. However, things from outside may be accepted and brought into the courtyard.

The real nature of the feast celebrated by the shaman in honor of the family deity consists, it is clear, in honoring the guardian deity of the family and all the spirits presiding over the various departments of the household, together with the ancestors. It seems to be a heterogeneous party in which spirits and ancestors and the members of the present generation participate. The climax of the feast, however, is the entertainment of the ancestors, who are believed to be present in the courtyard, happy to look upon their descendants and disposed to extend their protection over them. The shaman is believed to see the ancestors, hear them speaking, know their intimate feelings, their desires for offerings and their good dispositions, and his dialogue with them is so animated as to give the participants hallucinations and make them happy.

New Catholic converts, talking about this feast, always recognized that before their conversion they enjoyed the entertainment with the ancestors very much, but they never alluded to the presence of the spirits at the feast. Children of new converts often had interesting discussions at school with children more proficient in the doctrine concerning the shaman who had seen their ancestors and heard them speaking, but they never spoke about the other spirits present at such times. 795 776

The feast of the family guardian deity seems in fact to have become a feast honoring the ancestors at home. This delight in the presence of the ancestors is not confined to the Monguors. It is interesting to note the similarity of the rite of the invocation of the spirits of departed heroes, which still delights the Ordos Mongols. 592 776

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of the fifth month and lasts for 108 days. During the whole period, two lamas at a time are always fasting (taking one meal a day), while the others are free to indulge in food, but during the 108 days the use of meat, garlic, leeks, and radishes is prohibited for all the lamas. Lamas of the Red Sect north of the Hsining River do not perform fasting in a group of their own sect, but always some among them attend the fasting rites practiced by laymen.

The fast of laymen is an interesting custom, the consequences of which have an important bearing on the formation of the Buddhist frame of mind of the people. The aim of the rite is the purification of sins and happy rebirth in the paradise of one of the Buddhas.

ORGANIZATION AND RULES

The rite is enacted in a group, in a few temples spread over the country, under the direction of a lama of the Yellow Sect, usually a Living Buddha or an old lama celebrated for his proficiency in oratory. At present the fasting exercises are only practiced in six localities, among which four are old Karwas (dating from the Ming period): Tsan-tsa, Pe-cha-erh-te, Marhtsang and Swor. The two others are Sumdo and T'u-kuan. The fasting exercises are never performed for laymen in monasteries. Each of the six groups has its committee which, long before the fixed time, tries to enroll fasters: Monguors, Tibetans, even Chinese, lamas of the Red Sect, men and women. In Sumdo the fasters usually number from twenty to eighty; in Pe-chä-erh-te from ten to thirty; in Marhtsang from ten to thirty; in Swor from twenty to seventy. In 1916 in Pe-cha-erh-te, I met seventeen fasters; in Marhtsang twenty-one. The Monguors of Wei-yüan-p'u and of the northern part of the Hung nai Valley are said to be the most fervent fasters. Always, a large number of men, even chiefs and elders of villages, attend the rite.

During the whole exercise, the fasters do not spend any money. The fast expenses are defrayed by the villagers of the locality where the exercises are held, and by the committee which has a small fund and collects some alms. To contribute to this rite is considered to be a very meritorious act. The day before the beginning of the fast, the chief of the village imposes corvées on some of the youngsters for the carrying of water, chopping of fuel, preparing cypress boughs, grinding flour, cooking, baking rolls and steaming bread, buying butter, tea, sugar, sweeping the floor. At Tsan tsa the fast starts on the fifteenth of the sixth month; at other places usually around the twenty-ninth of the third moon, and lasts for sixteen days. During the three days preceding the fast, the fasters are not allowed to eat garlic, leeks, radishes or meat, or to drink wine, or smoke tobacco, and continence is required.

The fasters arrive at night, drink tea, eat rolls baked in vegetable oil and go to rest. Men and women have separate rooms; they sleep on straw and cover them-

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selves at night only with their own clothes. Before dawn the conch shell trumpet is blown, and all arise and wash their faces and hands. A youngster comes and pours some water in their cupped hands, with which faces and hands are cleansed. The fingers pass across the hair and toilet is done. In the meantime, a big cypress fire is kindled in the courtyard and the fasters cause the smoke to enter their large sleeves and gowns, whereupon the body is supposed to be ritually purified.[13] The lama director, helped by Red lamas or laymen, kneads flour of roasted spelt with butter, makes three ritual *tormas* with the dough, and disposes them on the altar before the Buddha picture for two days. Then they are thrown away and three new ones take their place. In front of the picture, 108 butter lamps burn all day during the whole rite; 108 cups are displayed containing the ritual holy water and a flower, along with two high vessels, one of them containing pure water and the other sugar water. In the temple, men kneel behind the lama and the women behind the men. The lama starts reading the texts, which very few among the fasters are able to read with him, but it is said that the merits of devoutly listening to texts which are not understood are exactly the same. He explains the rules to be observed in order to obtain the merits of the rites. The fasting exercises are to be performed at least for two consecutive days; it would be better to perform them for more days, and it would be best of all to persevere to the end. Several fasters drop away after two days, others start again a few days later, many attend the exercises of the first and of the last two days, but all of them have to attend the meal at every noon, attend the lecture in the afternoon, and sleep in the temple every night. In the meantime, the absentees visit neighbors or bask in the sunshine.

On the days of silence, it is strictly forbidden to talk, lest all the merits of the fast be lost. Except at meal time, it is strictly forbidden to swallow anything, even saliva; the whole day the noise of spitting never stops. During the sixteen days, it is strictly forbidden to kill any living being. In the sunshine, whole rows of fasters are seen searching in their clothes for vermin and putting them on the ground with devotion. It is strictly forbidden to take a nap during the sixteen days, or to go home.

After the explanation of the rules, the exercises start. The director blesses the sugar water, and reads some texts; a servant pours a few drops of sugar water into the hands of each of the fasters, who swallow it devoutly. Holding in his hand a cypress bough dipped in pure water, the servant sprinkles some drops in their hands which they swallow and spit on the floor. It is called *chiap*, which means the ritual cleansing of the tongue and the mouth. Then follows a strict command against moving, and the servant pours milk tea,

[13] Granet, *Danses et légendes, op. cit.*, 383. Purification by smoke was well known in old China.

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with discretion, into the cup which every faster holds hidden in his gown. Then follows a new chiap and the mouth is purified. The first exercise is finished and the fasters go into the courtyard to have a talk.

At nine o'clock there is a second meeting in the temple. Prayers are said by the lama, followed by 108 Om Mani said over the beads, with devotion, in a slow tempo. The recitation of the Om Manis constitutes the basis of every gathering. This time there is no instruction or preaching, but again the rite of sugar water and chiap is performed.

At eleven, the same exercise is held in the temple as at nine o'clock, and immediately thereafter they have the only meal of the day, which consists of milk tea and rolls boiled in oil, followed by the ritual chiap. According to the rules the meal has to be finished before noon.

At the three o'clock meeting in the temple, the director gives prayers and preaching which may last for two or more hours; there is no sugar water, and no chiap. Then the fasters go to the courtyard for a talk. When the sun has set, they gather in the temple. There are no more prayers, but sugar water and chiap, milk tea at discretion, again sugar water and chiap. At dusk the fasters enter their respective dormitories, and strict silence is observed.

The second day is one of strict silence. At dawn, they meet in the temple, for prayers and Om Manis. The sugar water on that day is not swallowed but rubbed on the hair. There is no chiap. After the meeting, the fasters bask in the sun, reciting Om Manis, or turning the prayer wheels. At nine o'clock the same performance is held as in the morning, and sugar water is rubbed on the hair. There is no chiap. At eleven, the same rites are held as at nine o'clock, and the same meal is held as on the first day. At the three o'clock meeting they have prayers and preaching, and put sugar water on the hair; at sunset the same rite is held as on the first evening.

On the third day, after the morning rites, it is permissable to speak, and the rites are the same as on the first day. At noon the menu is changed, and noodles and milk tea are served.

The rites on the fourth day are the same as those of the second day, with strict silence, and so on, for sixteen days. During the whole fasting time, Wei-sang is not practiced, but every morning a big cypress fire is built in order to smoke the body.

According to the fasters, the observance of the rules is very difficult. Although the Monguors are used to eating whenever they like, the whole day long, they say that the single meal is the least part of the problem; the worst parts are the terrible regularity of the schedule and the deadening silence. This is quite understandable, especially as the rites last for sixteen days. No wonder that young people are not fond of the rite, and that mostly older, devout, and religious-minded people, and

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people who have taken the Buddhist vows, are the usual practitioners.

TOPICS OF THE INSTRUCTIONS

Each year I seized every opportunity to get information from fasters concerning that captivating subject, and asked the children in the schools about what grandpa or grandma had said about the lama director, the topics of the preachings, the anecdotes narrated, the number of fasters. Every time the fasters reported that they were happy to have performed the exercises, although they had had a hard time. They had prayed in a group innumerable Om Manis, which had caused them to have a real feeling of happiness, and they had enjoyed the preaching. They seemed to be better Lamaists than before, for they spoke with enthusiasm about their experiences. Without doubt the fast rites had helped buoy them up and had given them zest for life.

However, it was always said that the directors of the exercises were not all interesting talkers, that some were really boring men, but that they all loved Li, the old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Every year, at three places at least, he was invited, and the fasters urged that the date of the exercises be postponed, in order to enjoy the old man's direction since he had endeared himself to the hearts of the people. He was an intelligent old Living Buddha, a picture of benevolence, with a great kind face, molded on pontifical lines, and all set for hearty smiles. He was a wonderful storyteller, with sparkling wit and a fetching sense of humor, who had the knack of keeping the fasters listening for two and three hours every day. He expounded his doctrine by means of anecdotes and unusual comparisons, which his uncultivated listeners could grasp, remember, and tell to others. He was a fine teacher.

The beloved topic of his talk was the life of Buddha, who fled from the luxurious palace of his illustrious parents; his terrifying mortifications and his endless charity, even for tigers and other animals, so that he had allowed himself to be devoured by the hungry tigress in order that she might nourish her cubs; his refusal to enter paradise, in order to remain in and save the world. Another topic was the paradise of Buddha and its oriental splendor where everybody hoped to go eventually; and also that of the eighteen hells, with all the terrifying torments used in the Orient. He used to put stress, in nearly every talk, on the omniscience of the terrible but equitable judge of death, who accepts no bribes, who knows all the merits and demerits of everyone; whose mill of justice grinds, in the most minute way, all our acts and intentions.

All the children knew that the poor in this world are people who are suffering, for their lack of charity in former existences, or for their covetousness or injustices. The topic of the punishments for injustices was one of those most elaborately developed by all the

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and jade. A pillow is placed under the head, which is 764
covered with a sheet of white paper and a piece of black cloth. The black cloth is a souvenir of former times, because the Chinese use a piece of red cloth.

A Taoist priest fixes the day for the burial. The master of ceremonies invites the maternal uncle (with [604]
the same discussion as at the incineration ceremonies). Finally, permission is granted for the burial, and the sons and grandsons of the deceased kneel before the maternal uncle, presenting the hammer and the wedges to fasten the cover of the coffin. The maternal uncle fastens one wedge, and allows the others to finish the job. Some among them still practice the Om Mani rite at night. The offering of the members of the family are still the Monguor offerings, as well as the lamentations. The next day the men follow the coffin on foot to the cemetery, and the women, crying and lamenting, sit on carts. On the third day there follows the ceremony of building the tumulus according to the Monguor custom.

It is not unusual that, at the request of the maternal uncle, some lamas are invited to say prayers at the same time with the Taoist priests. In that case, the lamas say their prayers in a private room next to that of the Taoist priests, since neither cares for the other.

CONFUCIANIST BURIAL OF MONGUORS

Some, among the rich and more educated Monguors, 795
follow the Confucianist rite of putting the coffin in the 766
courtyard with a red curtain hanging before it. The members of the family kneel before the coffin and a Chinese literatus, wearing a large red satin scarf on his shoulders, makes the sons kneel in the first row. While the musicians play a soft funeral tune, he reads the panegyric for the deceased whom he proposes as a model for the sons. He then places the panegyric before the coffin; next he goes to the row of daughters and then the row of grandchildren, and each time a new piece is read and deposited before the coffin.

The whole group then follows him in a silent procession to the kitchen, where each takes a cup of noodles and deposits it before the coffin, bowing and prostrating. He leads the whole group in procession behind the curtain. The literatus invites the deceased to take his meal. The whole group coughs one delicate cough, and disappears, tiptoeing into the room, in order not to disturb the deceased while dining. The literatus burns the panegyrics and retires.

The literatus, with some Taoist priests, goes to the nearest temple. Men follow him on foot while women sit on the carts and lament. He enters the temple with the priests only, reads a new panegyric, and makes the announcement of the death to the spirit and bows; then the group returns. It is amazing to see how these rude Monguors can behave with courtesy, like people "to the manner born," and how much they like the rite. Burial follows the next day.

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IMPACT OF FOREIGN RELIGIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA

In dealing with these subjects, serious account must be taken of the diffusion of Buddhism. At the beginning of our era, in A.D. 148 the first translators of Buddhist scriptures arrived in Liang Chou from the oases of Turkistan, and Liang Chou became the center of Buddhist activities (Chapter II). Among the Turkic T'opa Wei people, Buddhism was diffused on a large scale. From 399 to 557 they occupied northern China and extended their power as far as the Altai. In 538, in their two provinces of Chih-li and Shan-tung alone, are recorded thirty thousand temples and two million adherents to Buddhism.[22] The Turkic-Mongol tribes, settling or living as nomads along the western frontier of China from Turkistan to Manchuria, must have come in contact with Buddhism and felt its impact in different ways. The Chi'tan (of Mongol origin) who occupied northern China (907–1125) and extended their power over Inner and Outer Mongolia, professed Buddhism to the extent that in 942 the number of monks and nuns in Chih-li and Shan-tung swelled to 50,000 and in 1078, 360,000 are mentioned.[23]

However, from the seventh century on, new religious notions were also diffused in Central Asia among the nomadic tribes. In 762 the Uigurs had embraced Manicheism, and Nestorians were very numerous among them. The Kereits, a Turkic tribe living on Lake Baikal, were converted to Nestorianism in 1007. They were defeated by Chingis Khan, and submitted to him. The Öngüts, tribes of Shat'o origin who aided Chingis against the Chin in 1201, were Nestorians.[24] Around the end of the eleventh century Nestorian missionaries had already reached the Tatars living near the country which today is called Manchuria, because at least two of their chiefs bore Christian names, "Mark" and "John."[25] During the tenth and eleventh centuries many nomadic tribes in Central Asia were converted to Mohammedanism, among them the Qara-Khanides in 960, the Seljukides before 1043, and other Turkic tribes in 960 and 1043.[26]

IMPACT OF NESTORIANISM AMONG THE MONGOLS

The impact of these events must have been felt among the peoples of Central Asia on a larger or smaller scale and in different ways. At any rate, Nestorianism af-

[22] James R. Ware, Wei-shou on Buddhism, *T'oung Pao* 30: 179, 1933. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, *op. cit.*, 1433.

[23] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 291–296. It was under the Liao dynasty that Buddhism spread to the vast eastern expanses of Inner Asia.

[24] K. S. Latourette, *A history of Christian missions in China*, 63, N. Y., Macmillan, 1929.

[25] B. Louis Hambis, Deux noms chrétiens chez les Tatar au XIme siecle, *Journal Asiatique*, 1953: 475.

[26] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

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fected the imperial family of the founder of the new Mongol nation in a peculiar way.

Chingis, building his new nation, resorted to alliances with neighboring tribes. He married his fourth son, Tului, to the niece of Toghrul Ong Khan, chief of the powerful Nestorian Kereit tribe. The Nestorian princess bore four sons, among whom was Mönke, the fourth leader of the nation, Khubilai, who became emperor of China, and Hulagu, the ruler of Persia, who also married a Nestorian Kereit princess, the granddaughter of the same Toghrul. The latter had a chapel attached to his camp.

Chingis married his own daughter, Alagai Beki, to Po-yao-ho, the son of the chief of the Nestorian Öngüts, who helped him conquer the Chin. Chingis was so fond of his son-in-law that he made him follow him, with Kulan the well-known favorite, in his conquest of West Turkistan and Khwarezm. The relations between the Nestorian Öngüts and the imperial family were very close. Güyük, the second successor of Chingis and leader of the nation, married his daughter to the son of Po-yao-ho, who had a Christian chapel before his tent. The emperor Khubilai married his daughter to the other son of Po-yao-ho.

No wonder that many Nestorian Kereits and Öngüts occupied important administrative posts in the new nation. Chingis himself appointed the Christians Chinkhai and Khadak, and all imperial orders had to bear the signature of Chinkhai. Two chief ministers of Güyük were Christians, as were also the physicians at court. The principal minister of Mönke was the Christian Bolgai. Protection enjoyed by the 30,000 Nestorians in China in the construction of churches and monasteries was due to the emperor, whose mother was a Nestorian and who gave his daughter to a Nestorian prince. Even so, the diffusion of Catholicism by the first missionaries was also made possible and even encouraged by him. The impact of Nestorianism upon the imperial family seems at first sight to have been unusual, but it was in fact merely a veneer overlying a shamanist underground, for soon after Chingis, the Mongol emperors practiced Lamaism to the extent that Peking became a Lamaist city.[27] O. Franke writes about the "Rabies Buddhica" of the Mongol emperors.[28]

Vladimirtsov writes:

> Chingis Khan introduced a definite religious idea into the political conception of his own suzerainty and of that of his clan . . . the shaman Kokchu announced that the "Everlasting Blue Sky" favored Chingis who was its own pre-ordained envoy on earth. . . . "The 'Sky' has ordered me to govern all the peoples," Chingis said. . . .

[27] K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, 63–65. Henri Cordier, Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *T'oung Pao* 18: 56–57, 197. P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao* 15: 627, 1914. P. Pelliot, Les Mongols et la Papauté, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 23: 4 seq., 1922–1923; 24: 46, 1924; 28: 169, 193–4, 199, 1931–1932. Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

[28] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 522.

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We have to take into consideration also the fact that many of the historians of this Mongol period, such as Rashid ed-Din (1302), Djouwayni (1260), and others, were Moslems, who might easily have been influenced by the tenets of their own religion in this matter, and have reflected these ideas in their writings.

Besides the very serious doubts concerning the authenticity of the texts, there arise problems of the value of these texts in explaining the cult of Heaven as it existed before Chingis and before the imperial family professed (?) or protected Nestorianism, and also the question of the real impact of Nestorianism inside the imperial family through cult and rites, and upon the bulk of tribes which are called Mongol. P. Pelliot states that "Nestorianism was the religion of most Turkic tribes and perhaps of a few genuine Mongols." [40]

It is common knowledge, corroborated by the testimony of travelers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,[41] that the Mongols and Turks during the Yüan dynasty worshipped a host of spirits and Öngüts, and were as fervent addicts of shamanism as Chingis himself.

Professor Louis Hambis writes: "The Mongols at the time of Chingis did not honor a Supreme God, but they worshipped Heaven and Earth, and their formula for taking an oath started with an invocation to the god of heaven and to the deity of earth." [42]

René Grousset notes that: "When Chingis started with his campaign against the Naiman, he made solemn sacrifices to the Banner, in which the 'Sulde,' the protector spirits of his army, were supposed to reside." [43]

At present there exists the same confusion concerning the notion of Heaven among the Mongols of the Ordos as among the Monguors.[44] No wonder that after the overthrow of the Mongol dynasty, which had long since become thoroughly Buddhist, Nestorianism almost completely disappeared from among them.[45]

NESTORIANISM AMONG THE MONGUORS

Among the Monguors and the Chinese of the region of Hsining, I never encountered any facts pointing to the possibility that Nestorianism had been practiced in former times. Yet Marco Polo (born in Venice in 1254), during his long stay in Kan chou in 1274, must have made an excursion to Hsining with his father Nicolo and his Uncle Matteo. Among many minute details concerning Hsining he records: "The population

[40] P. Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extreme Orient*, *op. cit.*, 643.

[41] A. Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, 231, 232, Puaracchi, Firensie, 1929.

[42] Pelliot and Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, 411, Leiden, Brill, 1951.

[43] Grousset, *Empire Mongol, Ire Phase*, *op. cit.*, 159.

[44] A Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*, Peking, Catholic University, 1947.

[45] *Ibid.*, *Bull. Catholic University of Peking* 9, Nov. 1934; Ordosica; Les Erkut, descendants des Chrétiens médiévaux chez les Mongols Ordos.

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of the country consists chiefly of idolaters and some Saracens, but there are some Christians also."[46] Because Marco Polo always noted very accurately the Nestorian churches he encountered on his way through Central Asia, and because he did not mention the existence of any Nestorian church in Hsining, it may be supposed that this Nestorian community must have been small, and probably consisted of some occasional traders.

Another fact led me to investigate the topic of Nestorianism. According to Pelliot, tribes of Öngüts (Shat'o) inhabited the Tenduc region, north of the great bend of the Yellow River. Some of these Öngüts migrated into south Kansu, in the region of Lin t'ao. They were taken prisoners by the Chin (1125–1235) and transplanted into mid-Manchuria at the beginning of the twelfth century. They were Nestorians. An apparition in a dream of the Chin emperor T'ai tsung (1125–1161) having been explained by means of images honored by these Öngüts, they were liberated and located in Ch'ing chou, north of the Yellow River.[47]

According to Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, 1: 26, the Öngüts had moved there in the twelfth century from northern Mongolia. Rashid ed-Din explains that the Öngüts, being in the service of the Chin, had been appointed as wardens of the Great Wall.

The problem is, the region of Lin T'ao being contiguous with that of Hsining,[48] whether there was intermingling between the Shat'o of Lin T'ao and those of Hsining, and whether the Hsining Shat'o as a consequence, ever professed Nestorianism.

The second Shat'o dynasty, that of the Hou Chin, (936–947), was conquered by the Liao dynasty (907–1125) in 947, and its imperial family (175 persons), banished into Huang lung, north of Mukden (Manchuria). However its harem, eunuchs, and servants entered the service of the Liao emperor.[49] Then the emperor decided to enroll in his army the defeated Hou Chin troops, and to use them as wardens of the southern marches of his enlarged empire. Their families were to be moved into north Shansi as hostages, and the troops were to be granted furlough from the marches every year to visit Shansi.[50]

It seems doubtful whether these provisions were ever carried out. Ho kien, an Uigur, loyal and devoted servant of both Shat'o dynasties, governor of the Tsin, Chieh, and Ch'eng chou regions, and of the marches of southeast Kansu (contiguous to Lin T'ao), in 947, immediately after the defeat of his emperor, offered the places and the region he governed to the Lord of the Kingdom of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan), and pledged his al-

[46] Yule-Cordier, *The book of Ser Marco Polo* 1: 274.
[47] P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extreme Orient, 630; Henri Cordier, Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *op. cit.*, 56.
[48] Franke, *op. cit.* 5: 113.
[49] *Ibid.* 4: 55.
[50] *Ibid.* 4: 57, 58.

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legiance to him.[51] War broke out and finally a new dynasty arose, the Hou Han, 947–950.

Did the defeated Shat'o troops of the Hou Chin join the faithful governor? Did they submit to the new Hou Han dynasty and remain in their own country? Did the Öngüts of the northern bend of the Yellow River come over to lend a hand? For how long did the Öngüts remain in that troubled country? At least the Öngüts of Lin T'ao were taken prisoners and transplanted to Manchuria, not by the Liao (907–1125) but by the Kin (1125–1235).

It is common knowledge that the Öngüts of both Shat'o dynasties (923–947) were fervent adherents of Buddhism, as were the Shat'o of Hsining, who built the imposing monastery of Ta-fo-ssu in the very center of the city of Hsining (1280–1368). (See Chap. II, p. 14.)

Even if we suppose that Nestorianism were diffused among the Hsining Shat'o, certainly it would not have been done by the Buddhist Shat'o dynasties, but by the Shat'o from the northern bend of the Yellow River, who immigrated into Lin T'ao, if at that time they were already Nestorians. Furthermore, can the apparitions in the vision of the emperor T'ai tsung definitely be explained as Nestorian images worshipped by the Lin T'ao Öngüts, or could they have been Buddhist or Manichean images? This question is still controversial.[52]

All that I can say in summing up is that I never could succeed in tracing any evidence that Nestorianism was ever professed by the Shat'o of Hsining.

CONCLUSION OF THE CHAPTER

If the Heaven beliefs of the Turkic-Mongol tribes are to be assessed in conjunction with what is known about the Monguors, whose ancestors settled in Huang-chung in 1227, at the time of the death of Chingis Khan, then taking into account the Monguor formula of "Heaven and all the spirits," the cult of an undefined Heaven, the host of honored spirits and the predilection for shamanism which survived the intensive indoctrination of Lamaism experienced by the Monguors in Huang-chung, it seems sound to assume that among other Mongol tribes "Heaven" must have occupied a similar position of honorary preeminence.

The tangled problem may be summarized as follows. In former times the old Turkic-Mongol tribes had no notion of a heaven or a hell where, after death, men would be rewarded for their merits or punished for their sins. They lacked the notion of an immortal soul. The soul, after having dwelt for a short while near the burial place, or in an undefined underworld, was supposed to vanish. Even at present the Monguors believe that their ancestors vanish after three generations. Their aspirations and hopes were, ac-

[51] *Idem.* 4: 68.

[52] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 308–309. [p. 156(B)]

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cordingly, concentrated on the happiness and help needed during their actual lifetime here on earth.

However, they had populated the world with a host of good and evil spirits on which they thought they depended. They curried the favor of the good spirits and tried to secure their good disposition so that they would stay the hands of the evil spirits, and bless them during their lifetime here on earth. Among those spirits was the Spirit of Heaven, whose nature we have no means of distinguishing from that of the other spirits to whom more sacrifices were offered. (See above, p. 153.)

The shaman, whom they knew to have access to the world of spirits, was only engaged in providing them with the protection and benefits needed during their life. At present the activities of the shamans are still limited to that same sphere of action. The diffusion of Buddhism opened new vistas in the world of religious thought of the Turkic-Mongol peoples. A Buddha of benevolence appeared, enthroned in a paradise to which all people could have access and where all could enjoy happiness during the time preceding a new, happy rebirth. The concept of this intervening time became so endlessly long that the idea of rebirth was practically forgotten and put aside. However, a more concrete notion of the soul came to be developed.

In addition to the paradises, Buddhism revealed the existence of the eighteen hells and the presence of the terrible judge of the dead who decided about the future, according to acts morally good or bad. The shamans also told about Erlik Khan. However, the Turkic-Mongol tribes living on earth still hoped for blessings here, and were taught that the benevolent Buddha could secure them. Hence, next to the cult of the old spirits was the cult of Buddha, the throng of devotees invoking blessings and protection through the Om Mani. In this way the fervent shamanists became also fervent Lamaists.

We have no way of making sure what the impact of Nestorianism may have been upon the Turkic-Mongol tribes in later times, in promoting the development of a more concretely defined notion of the "spirit of Heaven," and its preeminence over the other spirits or even how long such an impact may have lasted. We do know, however, that Turkic-Mongol tribes honored Heaven and offered sacrifices to it, as well as to Buddha and all the spirits, and that consequently they were not monotheists.[88]

XV. RELIGION AND THE COHESION OF THE CLAN

The Monguor clans, from the time of their submission to the Chinese empire (1368), were friendly disposed toward the empire. Their chiefs received military titles and offices, and enjoyed the right to admin-

[88] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217, *et seq.* [p. 159 (A)]

mantle. Trade was transacted in this city, where shops had been built and traders, artisans, and well-to-do people lived. In the outer city was a large terrace with three steps where every three years Heaven and Earth were worshipped, and also two smaller fortresses. More than one thousand houses were built in the outer city and many Buddhist temples with glazed tile roofs, and abodes for the lamas. Half of the buildings in the inner and outer cities were Buddhist buildings. Lamas presided at all the public ceremonies and participated at the councils of the chief. Five li outside the outer city, to the west, was built a very large lamasery with abodes for five hundred lamas and a splendid temple.

These notes written by the Chinese official prove that Chiossulo was fond of display and munificence, that his realm was flourishing and opulent and that he was a very fervent Buddhist, reigning over a Buddhist people and surrounded by lamas whom he revered. Hsining seems to have been a small Lhasa. Chiossulo was a descendant of princes who had lived in Lhasa, and the old traditions prevailing in Lhasa must have been fresh and living in his family and among his officials.

It is worth noticing that in the description of the opulent city written by the Chinese official, after many thousand Uighurs had surrendered and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo, not a single mention is recorded of a Manichean temple or Nestorian church. The Uighurs are known to have been professing Manicheans although many among them must also have been fervent Buddhists or shamanists or perhaps Nestorians. The Uighurs at the time of their arrival at Hsining must have been accompanied by their religious leaders and would normally have built some temples.

In the *Annals* of Hsining (15 : 2*b*), however, is noted a Pei-i-ssu the Temple of the White Clothes,[39] the stereotypical designation of Nestorian temples. This temple was situated north of the outer city and is the only Nestorian temple recorded in the *Annals*. The date of its construction is not recorded.

Chiossulo died in 1065 having had to defend twice more his independent kingdom against the Hsi Hsia, in 1058 and 1065 (*Annals* of Hsining 31B : 2*a–b*, 3*a*, 33*a*).

This history of Chiossulo is of overriding importance for the study of the Monguors. Unfortunately, I overlooked it at the time I prepared Part I of the study. It reveals how at the time of the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols (1227) and the Ming (1368), the population of the country had come to consist of T'u-fan tribes already mixed with Tang-hsiang tribes, a group of the Slave tribes and strong groups of Uighurs and Shat'o. It sheds light on names of tribes of Monguor commoners pointing to their Turkish and Tibetan origin. The fact that several thousand Uighur Turks had fled to Huangchung in 1038 from the corridor of West Kansu and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo,

[39] Referring to the white clothes worn at the time of baptism.

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1274 and also of Nestorians, probably traders as were the Moslems, originating from Kao Ch'ang.

BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

The history of Chiossulo has an important bearing upon the history of Buddhism in Huangchung and upon the specific character of Shamanism in the country.

In Part II (8–14) it is noted that, according to the *Annals* of Hsining, the first Buddhist temple in Hsining, the Ta Fo Ssu, had been built during the Yuan period (1280–1368). Since I was conversant with the history of Chiossulo, I suggested on page 12 that most probably during the occupation of Kansu by the Tsan p'u of Lhasa from 763 until 842, lamas would have followed the conquerors and spread Buddhism in Kansu. However, the first historical data are recorded in the *Blue Annals* translated by Roerich, where is noted the foundation of the monastery of Dantig in 940, on the northern borders of the Yellow River in Huangchung, and at the same time that in that country great hermitages already existed. These annals also note the existence in the city of Hsining of a Buddhist temple where Buddhist monks had been buried. These are the first historical data which prove that Buddhism was practiced in Huangchung before 940. Since the description of the city of Hsining during the reign of Chiossulo, who died in 1065, is available, we know that the city of Hsining was a Lhasa in miniature, where lamas stood at the helm, and that therefore, long before the Yuan period, Buddhism flourished on a very large scale.

SHAMANISM AND MANICHEISM

The Uighurs were converted to Manicheism in 762–763 and professed Buddhism and Nestorianism at the same time. At the time of their khanate in Kanchow in 872 their official religion was still Manicheism. Manicheism is based upon the doctrine of the existence of two distinct principles of good and evil, and of two distinct beings impersonating good and evil, both eternal, independent, and mutually antipathetic.

The shamanism of the Monguors (Monguors II: 94–97) has been explained on the one hand by the overwhelming fear of evil spirits existing among the shamanists, and on the other hand by the recognition of their dependence on good spirits in all the circumstances of life. The struggle between both groups of spirits has been recorded during the typical rite against hail. Then the people carry all their good spirits into the fields in the direction of the threatening clouds, and cry to them to fight the evil hail spirits, which they curse awfully. If it happens nonetheless that the crops are destroyed, the people sigh with despair saying: "the good spirits could not match the evil ones."

Professor Wolfram Eberhard,[34] reviewing the chapter on shamanism, suggested judiciously that there

[34] Wolfram Eberhard, *Jour. Amer. Oriental Soc.* 4: 284, 1957.

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might be reason to think seriously of the thesis of the influence of Iranian dualism upon the shamanism of the Monguors and upon that encountered in west China in a contact zone of Tibetan and Chinese populations. He notes that attention has already long ago been drawn to the Iranian elements in Central Asian shamanism. Since it is known that several ten thousands of Manichean Uighurs pledged allegiance to Chiossulo in 1036 and that they were settled in Huangchung and in East Kansu up to the borders of Szechwan, it is easy to agree with the suggestion. Without doubt Iranian elements had had time enough to influence the shamanism of Kansu, for my notes were recorded in 1910–1920, after these Manicheans had lived in the country for six centuries. Iranian influence upon the shamanism of Central Asia may be explained in the same way. The Uighur kingdom was liquidated in 840 by the Kirghiz, after the Uighurs had been converted to Manicheism eighty years earlier. Then they roamed in Turkistan and on the China borders carrying with them their Manicheism and came in contact with the shamanism of Central Asia.

SETTLEMENT OF THE UIGHURS

The arrival of thousands of Tibetans and several ten thousands of Uighurs all fleeing at the same time into Huangchung, driving before them their herds, carrying their belongings, etc., should have created a tremendous and delicate problem for Chiossulo to cope with. All these turbulent people had to be settled without hurting the feelings of the Tibetan tribes subject to him and already living in the country. This tremendous number of tribes must have upset the whole country, as many groups must have tried to occupy the territories which seemed fitting to them and have caused endless troubles.

The *Annals* of Hsining (4: 19*a*) dealing with the geography of the country note incidentally that five thousand T'u-fan horsemen arrived at the well of Fu-t'i, and drove Uighurs who had settled there back to their own country. This well is situated near the well-known old fortress of Shih-pu-ch'eng (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 3*a–b*). This reveals how delicate a problem Chiossulo had to contend with, and indicates the attitude of the Tibetans toward the Uighurs intruding into their country.

It is impossible to find out which among the numerous tribe names recorded in the *Annals* for the first time in Ming times (1368) are Uighur, Tibetan, or Shat'o names, because all the tribes are generally recorded as being Tibetans.

What tribes were settled in Huangchung in 1008 when the twelve-year-old Chiossulo arrived in the country?

In Mao Ch'uan, the actual subprefecture of Nienpei, is recorded the presence of the important Tibetan

The Emperor praised the military prestation of Li 175x
Yin and sent delegates from Peking with laudatory 648
letters and with the order to come to Peking, the ex- [703]
penses to be defrayed by the empire. He received the
promotion of Yu-fu tso-tu-tu and rich gifts. The next
year he was honored with the title of Duke of Hui
Ning, and received an emolument every year of 1,100
tan of grain. At the same time the emperor, with [554]
delicate attention, bestowed upon his deceased father, Li
Nan-ko, the same title of Duke of Hui Ning (*Annals*
of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

Li Yin seemed to have reached the summit of a 175x
glorious career. However, a more eminent honor was 554
in store for him. His merits would be chiseled on a
stele in a temple built by himself to remind future
generations of the imperial dignities bestowed upon
him.

In the Kuang-fu-kuan, a temple built in 1426 in the 175x
northeast corner of the city of Hsining, the following
is chiseled on a stele (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45*a–b*;
Annals of Hsining 35: 6*a–b*):

In 1422 in the eighth moon, Emperor Yung Lo, on his 175x
way back from an expedition in the desert took a breath in 211
Yu-lin (Shensi) and called to his tent the officials who had 539
won the most distinguished merits during the expedition. [703]
He granted Li Yin the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Pillar of
the Empire and Duke of Hui Ning. Then the duke asked
the emperor for permission to build in Hsining a temple [776]
in honor of the god of the war, in order to show gratitude
for the blessings bestowed upon the empire and the people,
and to secure more blessings in the future. The emperor
agreed. Back home, Li Yin ordered, a few days later, the
building of the temple. In the tenth moon of 1426 he
informed the emperor about the completion of the construc-
tion. The emperor granted to the temple the name "Kuang- [795]
fu-kuan" (Taoist temple of glory and felicity), and ap-
pointed five Taoist priests for the performance of the
sacrifices and worship in the temple.

One evening Li Yin was dreaming: he heard a man saying to him, "The God of War will appear." Instantly he dressed and adjusted his hat. Another man arrived carrying a tray with fine dishes. He invited Li Yin to come to his home to enjoy the dishes. Li Yin could not understand the circumstances of such an invitation. He thought it should be a spirit. Then he invited this man to come to his home. They were about to start with the dinner when all of a sudden the man said, "The spirit is there." Li Yin opened the door. He saw a man perfectly dressed, riding a white horse with a beautiful saddle and escorted by a numerous retinue. The man was like a king. The Taoist priest Ho Chao-tsung accompanied him, dressed in Taoist fashion, holding a book in his hands. He asked Li Yin: "The god will go first to the temple of the King Li. Is that correct?" Li Yin answered that he would first call at the Ning-fan Ssu (the temple of the appeased Tibetans). The entire group left. The sky was bright. On the way they passed a beautiful high building, enclosed by a high wall. They said, "The man who is living here does not belong to the lower range of society." They arrived at the gate of the temple. Li Yin dismounted from his horse. He was terrified. This happened on the eighth day of the seventh moon in 1423. In the winter of the same year the Duke was invited to see the emperor in Peking. He received his titles and precious gifts and returned to Hsining. What the Duke saw in his dream was the appearance of the god of war. It was a reward for his

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turing thirty horses (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*). The Wa-la tribes, afraid of the Chinese army, moved to a salt lake deeper into Kokonor. 175x 721 648

In 1597, however, Kokonor brigands still raided surrendered Tibetan tribes in the Hsining region. They were vigorously repelled from the Mang-la valley (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52). Chih-li-ko, Ordos brigand, raided the borders of Huangchung; 60 of his brigands were killed and 3,300 surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*).

The same year Liu Mei-kuan and Lung-yin finished the editing of a set of new *Annals*. However, a note is added, no woodblocks had been carved, only a few texts existed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*; 27: 14, 15), and most of them were indecipherable. 175x 213

In 1598 the Ordos Mongol Ch'ih-li-ko intended to reoccupy and to pasture in Sung Shan. He was repelled and suffered a defeat in Liu Ko Chin. In the fifth moon he plundered the Wolanko region and was repelled again. In the fifth moon one of his tribes, the Shao-hai-hai tribe, surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*). In the seventh moon Generals T'ien Yueh and Ta Yun definitely cleared the Sung Shan region of brigands. The chieftains Pin-tu, A-shih-tu, Tsai-cheng, Chih-li-ko had long infested the Huangchung and East Kansu countries. This time the brigands were chased as far as 500 li (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*). In the eleventh month the Mongol Hao-erh-ch'i occupied Sung Shan. The Chinese Commander Li Wen and surrendered Tibetan tribes repelled them and administered a severe blow. They built a wall as long as 400 li, indicating that Sung Shan belonged to China proper and was no longer the country of the barbarians (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 3*b*). 175x 648 [712]

In 1600 Sung Shan, the country from which during many years many raids had been perpetrated, was cleared of brigands and integrated into China. No more raids are recorded of Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in Huangchung. For some time the Ordos brigands tried to recover Sung Shan and make forays in East Kansu, T'ao and Ming Chou, Liangchow, Chengfan, Ninghsia, but Huangchung enjoyed relative and temporary peace.

Kokonor brigands having lost many tribes previously subject to them, raided T'ao and Ming Chou to subdue Tibetan tribes not yet surrendered to China. They suffered a severe blow and 5,000 Tibetans surrendered to China (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*).

The year 1604 is important in the history of lamaism in Huangchung. On the northwest of the so many times devastated Sa-t'ang valley, on the borders of one of the small affluents of the Sa-t'ang River, a Tibetan lama Diasai, belonging to the Saskya sect, started the building of the humble hermitage of Erh-ku-lung. The hermitage developed to the point that it became the first lamasery of Huangchung for many centuries and founded all over the country forty daughter monasteries. Its Living Buddhas, Chang Chia, T'u Kuan 175x 792 795

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and Sung Pa, were learned men and enjoyed prestige in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet (Monguors II: 27, sq.).

In 1607 the Brigadier General, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chai, with his troops, was ordered to help General Ta Yun repel the raids of Kokonor brigands who in combination with Ordos brigands invaded and looted Chengfan and Liangchow. They repelled them, administering a severe blow (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 39).

In 1612 the emperor ordered an honorific arch built to the meritorious Brigadier General Ch'i Teh, and sent the inscription to be chiseled on it: "Honorably favored by Heavenly Grace." The arch was built on the west street of the city of Hsining and still exists. Ch'i Teh is a descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i-Kung-ko-hsing-chi, who during the Yuan period fulfilled the duty of myriarch, with golden badge and purple tassel, in the region 90 li south of Hsining. The Ch'i t'u-ssu clan should have been well acquainted with the Tibetan tribes living south of Hsining. No wonder the Ch'i Teh T'u-ssu was called upon by minister of war Cheng Lo in 1591, together with Colonel Shih Chia, to induce the Tibetan tribes to surrender. His successful efforts must have been the reason for the imperial distinction (*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b*; 27: 28).

In 1616 the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Ping-chung (descendant of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh) appointed at Yung Ch'ang, saw the Mongol Yin-ting-ssu-ts'ing arriving with 1,000 horses to besiege the city. He controlled only 300 men but fought for two days and nights, defending the city. He himself killed three Mongol brigands. When auxiliary troops arrived he himself immediately pursued the enemy and saved all the people and cattle captured by the Mongols. The grateful people of Yung-ch'ang erected in the city a stele in commemoration of his heroic behavior. The stele still exists. Commended by his superiors for his leadership and energy, he was ordered, in 1621, to move with his troops to Liaotung Province (north of Peking) to defend the region of the Pu River. When he arrived, Liao Yang was already captured. Ten thousand more soldiers were put under his command. He remained in Liao tung for two more years. Later he encountered at P'ing-yang the Manchu troops invading China. In a pitched battle he was wounded by two sword cuts and three arrow hits. He was helped on his horse by his soldiers but died on the way. On account of his meritorious achievements, the emperor bestowed upon him the title of "T'ai-tze t'ai-pao" "Junior guardian of the heir apparent," and an imperial oration was granted at his funeral and an order given to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining with the inscription: "Served the country, manifested loyalty." The arch still exists. It was built in the large south street of the city (*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b*; 27: 21*a–b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*a–b*).

A very important date in the history of Kokonor, Tibet and lamaism is 1636. Ku-Shih-han, chieftain of

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with troops (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 6*b*) who, in concert with the t'u-ssu troops, exterminated the groups of brigands still roaming in the country without chiefs, and they induced the rebel Tibetan tribes to surrender. The commanders started repairing the cities, villages and fortresses in Huangchung.

In 1646 T'u-ssu Ch'eng was appointed commander in Chuang Lang by the Manchu Prince Su and given the title of Piao-ch'i Chiang-chun. At that time groups of brigands plundered the country of Sung Shan I north of Chuang Lang. The son of T'u-ssu Ch'eng pursued and exterminated them and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*).

However, the Chinese abhorred and hated the uncouth Manchu barbarians. Many among the governors and commanders could not resist the temptation of espousing the cause of the crumbled dynasty. The opposition would last for eighteen years before the entire empire would be conquered by the Manchus. Several times their empire met precarious circumstances, but party intrigues and jealousies among the Chinese divided them, and never could they offer a permanent united front against the conquerors.

The whereabouts of the heir apparent to the Ming throne being unknown, several princes of the imperial family arose in the provinces and tried to restore the dynasty. Prince Kuei succeeded in the formation in Kiangsi Province of a coalition of governors and military commanders, and the news spread like a prairie fire over the entire empire. Several governors and commanders in north China who had surrendered at the arrival of the Manchu troops, waited for the signal of the general uprising. A storm was brewing even in the remote northern region of Kanchow, Liangchow, etc. Two chiefs of the Mohammedan colony of Kanchow, Ting Kuo-tung and Milayin, started the revolt against the Ch'ing dynasty (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*). They joined the group of Chou Shih-chuan, a scion of the Ming princes, and enrolled as many Tibetans and brigands of Li Tze-ch'eng as possible. The Chinese officials of Kanchow and Liangchow followed in their wake.[88]

At the end of the Ming dynasty in North Kansu, Huangchung, and East Kansu, in nearly all the important cities and villages along the trade routes, colonies of Mohammedans were established, having their mosques and religious leaders who were obeyed and honored by their people. Meng Ch'iao-fang, conversant with this situation, informed the emperor about his apprehensions concerning the participation of the Mohammedans in the revolt. He wrote that an order issued by their religious chiefs would suffice to enroll all the Mohammedans of Kansu in the insurrection, and then he indicated the cities and villages in Kansu where the most important groups of Mohammedans existed (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 1*a–b;* 34: 1*b*, 2*b*).

[88] E. H. Parker, Kansu Mussulmans, *China Review* 16: 335, 1887.

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General Meng Ch'iao-fang seems to have trusted the faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu of Huangchung and therefore decided to stabilize his position first in Hsining before attacking Kanchow, Liangchow, etc., notwithstanding that in Hsining a strong Mohammedan colony existed. Therefore, in 1645 he sent two commanders to Hsining, and at the end of 1646 he sent another commander with troops, Ma Ju-shin, probably foreseeing imminent troubles.

In 1647 the rebels of Kanchow aimed to join the already revolting Mohammedan groups in East Kansu. Dissension seems to have existed among the Mohammedan colonies of Hsining and those of Kanchow, Liangchow, etc. Anyway the rebel Mohammedans, Chinese, and Tibetans united, led by the two Mohammedan chiefs Ting Kuo-tung and Milayin, and marched their troops first towards Hsining in order to compel the Mohammedan colony and the whole region of Huangchung to follow in their wake. On the borders of the Tatung River, north of Hsining, a ruthless battle was fought by the Manchu commanders of Hsining, supported by all the Huangchung troops of the t'u-ssu and a resounding victory was obtained (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*a*). The Hsining Mohammedans refused to mix in the revolt, maybe for fear of the overwhelming Manchu and Monguor forces guarding the country. Anyway, the victory secured a temporary peace in the country of Huangchung.

In 1648, after this victory, Meng Ch'iao-fang started attacking the cities of North Kansu. The cities of Liangchow and Yung Ch'ang surrendered, but Major Ma Hu-ya resisted in Kanchow. The city was carried by storm, the commander, eighteen officials, and eighty others were killed. The resistance of the rebels of Suchow was more serious. The city suffered tremendously, the commander and many people were killed (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 1, 3). T'u-ssu Li fought in Kanchow and Suchow with 500 soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*), helped by Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 54), Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*a*), and Ch'i t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*). Meng Ch'iao-fang, informed that the rebels (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 40*a*) had proposed to move to East Kansu after the defeat on the Tatung River, had appointed t'u-ssu to guard the passes and the roads leading to East Kansu. T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*b*) fought the rebels in Chin Pien I, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ta-hsun (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*) in Ta Tsing, T'u-ssu Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36) and T'u-ssu Lu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 59*b*) fought them in Wu Chao Lin. T'u-ssu Kan with three hundred of his soldiers guarded the ferry on the Yellow River. However, the rebels managed to reach East Kansu and succeeded in capturing within a few months the cities of Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'ao Chou, Lin T'ao, and Kuei Te, and beseiged the city of Kung Ch'ang.

In 1649 Meng Ch'iao-fang led his army and all the troops of the t'u-ssu to East Kansu, in order to re-

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mand of T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 3; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). The Monguors, familiar with the customs of the country, prepared fifty or more rafts of sheep and ox skins, and crossed the river at night in the locality of Chang Chia Wan. In the morning they unexpectedly met a large group of rebels in Hsin Ch'eng and administered a crushing defeat to them. They arrived at Lanchow which was unprepared to meet the enemy, and the city was recovered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a–b*). T'u-ssu Ch'i was appointed defender of the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). Then the Hsining troops of Wang Chin-pao and the Monguor troops helped recover, one after another, all the cities of East Kansu, with other Manchu troops. T'u-ssu Li commanded 1,000 of his Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*b*), and T'u-ssu Kan and Ah 300 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 50, 51). Then the t'u-ssu participated in the seige and the recovering of the city of P'ing Liang, and the capture of the rebel governor Wang Fu-ch'eng. The Lu t'u-ssu sent 400 *tan* of wheat to the hungry Monguor soldiers beseiging P'ing Liang, which was recovered in 1678. Wu San-kuei died August 17, 1678. After a campaign of six years the t'u-ssu returned to Huangchung with their troops.

In 1677 groups of Tibetans, in combination with Uighurs, had attacked Salar villages. Probably during the insurrection of Wu San-kuei, Salar brigands had plundered them. The Manchu army had put them to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 50*a–b*). In 1681 they returned to avenge the previously unsuccessful attack. Under the leadership of the Tibetan Huang La T'aichi they attacked the village of Su Chih and killed many Salars. The Manchu commander at night attacked the camp of the aggressors and killed many of them. They fled toward the Lao Ya pass and occupied it, blocking the communications. Troops had to come from Liangchow to repel and pursue them (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 51).

In 1689 a tremendous famine desolated East Kansu. It was followed by revolts of hungry people. In 1691 the revolt, led by a Taoist priest, had spread over the entire country. Troops of all the commanderies of Kansu were summoned, the revolt lasted until 1693 (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 45*b*). The Monguor t'u-ssu did not move into East Kansu. They had to protect their own country against inroads of poor and destitute people and forestall uprisings of the army in Huangchung, which was lacking food and was restless, for the crops in Huangchung had been bad also. In 1702, 50,000 *tan* of rice were sent from Sian to Huangchung for the troops (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*).

In 1693 T'u-ssu Li Hsia, assistant commander in Hsining, informed the emperor concerning the situation in the Pe-ta region, in the northern valley of Hsining. In 1647, after the rebel Mohammedans and Chinese of Kanchow had tried to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to revolt but had hit a severe blow on the border of the Tatung River, the Chinese who had fol-

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(*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*) with his troops accompanied the emperor. Galdan fled but was met by the army of General Fei Yang-ku who completely annihilated his army at Chao Mu To. The Khalkhas reoccupied their country. 175x 648

In 1697 the emperor went with his armies to Ninghsia in order to destroy entirely the Jungar forces. Again T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai with his troops followed the imperial army. However Galdan died May 3, 1697, and the emperor returned to Peking. The t'u-ssu was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the Ho Pa division in Shansi, then brigadier general in Chin Hua in Chekiang Province. In 1713, upon his retirement, he fulfilled the duty of assistant commander of his clan. At his death the emperor honored him with a funeral oration.[89] [703]

In 1703 the Khoshot Mongols of Kokonor submitted to the empire. The emperor conferred on the descendants of Ku Shih Khan, bLo-bzang tanchin, and others the titles of Prince, Pei-le, Pei-tse, Kung, T'aichi (*Annals* of Kansu 64: 52*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 22*a*).

This record points to the troubles in Lhasa which had long threatened Huangchung and the Monguors. Ku Shih Khan, chief of a Khoshot group (one of the four Oirat groups), had invaded and conquered Kokonor, Tsaidam, and Kham in 1636, and had been invited by the fifth Dalai Lama, Nag dzang bLo bzang, chief of the Yellow Sect, to help him in the struggle against a Tibetan prince, fanatic adherent of the old Red Sect, who had occupied Lhasa. He defeated the prince, installed the Dalai in Lhasa, proclaimed him Sovereign of Central Tibet and assumed the duty of protector of the Yellow Church.[90] Ku Shih Khan had been under the Manchu suzerainty since 1637. He died in 1656. His son Dayan, his grandson Dalai, and his great-grandson La tsang assumed the same duty. The Dalai entrusted the temporal administration of his kingdom to an official called a *desi*. In 1670 the *desi* revolted. On the request of the Dalai Lama, Dayan quelled the revolt and committed the *desi* to prison. Sangs rgyas rgya mcho was appointed to the *desi* office. The Dalai died in 1680–1681. The *desi*, with the Panchen Lama, appointed as reincarnation of the Dalai Lama a boy born a year after his death, called Chang Yang bLo bzang, the sixth Dalai Lama. The Tibetans and lamas [775] 175x 795 648

[89] *Annals* of Hsining 28: 4*a*. *Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*b*. Réné Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 607, 610, Paris, Payot, 1935.

[90] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 59–70, Roma, La Liberia della Stato., 1949. The Dalai Lama who died in 1680–1681 had built up a mighty kingdom and the supremacy of the Yellow Sect over all Tibet, leaning on the power of the Mongols, who were foreigners, arousing the suspicions of the Tibetans and the jealousy of the other sects and the old nobility. At the same time he had laid the foundation of the ruin of his kingdom, having recognized the right of some Mongol tribes to act as patrons over his lands, being bound in that way to the vicissitudes of political events. He had to take side with his protectors, later the Jungars, in their struggle with the Chinese empire.

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should have been cognizant of the fact and have considered the boy as the legitimate successor of Nag Dzang. However, the shrewd *desi*, offended by the growing interference of the emperor and of the Khoshot prince in Tibetan affairs, kept secret from the outer world both the death of the Dalai Nag dzang and the appointment of the reincarnation. He himself planned to rule the kingdom politically. Galdan who had been lama in Lhasa had been the friend of the Dalai and the *desi*, who at the time of his struggle with the Khalkhas had imprudently spoken in his favor near the emperor. In 1689 the distrusting emperor started inquiring into the matter and knew that the old Dalai had died in 1680–1681. He suspected connivance between the *desi* and the Jungars. After the crushing defeat administered to Galdan in 1696, the emperor learned that Galdan would fly to Tibet to build a new army. The emperor back in Peking immediately sent to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor the order to apprehend Galdan, his family and followers in order to check their faithfulness to the empire. However, Galdan had fled to the west and died in 1697. The princes of Kokonor, in order to dispel the suspicion of the emperor concerning their faithfulness, gathered in a group of thirty-one presided over by an eminent lama and swore allegiance to the empire. It seems that on account of the unanimous testimony of faithfulness sent to the emperor, the princes, being all descendants of Ku Shih Khan, were awarded titles.[91]

However, the *Annals* of Hsining present another version: the emperor, preoccupied with the troubled situation in Tibet and Kokonor, ordered the lama Chang Nan to *erh chih* (induce to submission) the princes of Kokonor. Having obeyed, the emperor granted titles to the descendants of Ku Shih Khan: to Blo bzang tan chin, the title of prince, to the others the titles of *Pei-le, Pei-tse, Kung, T'aichi*. A yearly allowance in silver was also granted. They were requested to bring tribute to the capital. As long as the lama was in Hsining the princes were loyal and dependable. Later Chinese officials were appointed to care for them (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 16*b*).

In the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52, is recorded in 1708 a serious revolt of Hsi Ku Tibetans, in the region of Wen Hsien in the farthest southern corner of East Kansu. The Hsi Ku tribes are the Hsi La Ku tribes, the Shera Uighurs, the Yellow Tibetans, already noted (pp. 17, 18). They were still autonomous in 1708 and had their own chiefs, and joined in the revolt. They depended upon the Yang t'u-ssu, and their chiefs were granted titles after the revolt by the emperor, thanks to the intercession of the Yang t'u-ssu.

In 1718 the Board of Agriculture of Hsining announced that 14,678 acres of uncultivated land were still available for culture.

[91] Maurice Courant, *L'Asie centrale au XVII et XVIII siècles. Empire Kalmouk ou Empire Mantchou*, 62, 72, 73, Paris, Picard, 1912.

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still available for culture. More troops had arrived in Hsining on account of the troubles in Tibet and those in Turkistan caused by the Jungars. Troops had to be fed and more grain was required (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*a*). 175*

The period of troubles and calamities originating from Kokonor and already long present in Huangchung started in 1723.

Tsewang Rabdan, nephew of the late Galdan, had succeeded his uncle as chief of the Jungars (1697). He was as hostile to the emperor as his uncle, and was as good a friend of the *desi* Sangs rgyas as his uncle. The sixth Dalai Lama, appointed by the *desi* and the Panchen Lama and enthroned in 1697, had proved to be a debauched man. In 1701 the Kokonor Prince La Tsang, protector of the Yellow Church, the Jungar chief Tsewang Rabdan and a delegate of the emperor compelled him to resign. He obeyed but, backed by the *desi*, he reserved for himself the temporal rights of his kingdom. Prince La Tsang confined the *desi* to prison and killed him. The emperor appointed La Tsang to the office of *desi* and ordered him to bring to Peking the dethroned Dalai Lama. However, many lamas and Tibetans still favored him and objected strongly. Finally the unpopular La Tsang succeeded in 1706 in moving the escort to Peking. The caravan was attacked on the way by lamas and Tibetans, and the Dalai was killed. La Tsang, in concert with the Panchen lama, appointed as sixth reincarnation, the lama Yeches, but he was taken in ill grace by lamas and Tibetans. All the more rumors were spread that in Li T'ang the genuine reincarnation was born. The emperor, to nip in the bud all these rumors, confined the Li T'ang reincarnation and his parents in the lamasery of Kumbum in Hsining. Despite the protestations of lamas, and even of many of the princes of Kokonor, the enthroning of the sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was ordered by the emperor and performed in 1710. 175* 648 795

The Jungar chief Tsewang Rabdan was incensed by the repeated intrusions of the emperor in the affairs of Tibet, conversant with the animosity instilled in the hearts of the lamas of the entire Yellow Church and of the Tibetan tribes against the Chinese empire, conscious of the hatred fostered in the whole nation against the Khoshot La Tsang, who had dethroned their Dalai Lama and was told to have him murdered on the way to Peking. Well informed about the anti-Chinese dispositions of even the princes of Kokonor, Rabdan considered the time ripe to take possession of Tibet and Kokonor, and to rule the Yellow Church. He resolved to pose as the savior of the religion, leading his armies to Hsining to bring to Lhasa the Dalai Lama, the idol of the nation, together with lamas and the princes of Kokonor. His first army marching on Hsining was defeated, but the second, commanded by his brother Tsereng Dondoub, reached Lhasa in 1717, defended by Prince La Tsang. Treacherously, a city gate was 175* 579 795

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opened and for three days the wild Jungars destroyed and looted the temples and the city, killing many people. La Tsang was killed.

The emperor could not take this affront lying down. However, his first punitive expedition to Lhasa was defeated in 1718. The second in 1720 parted in two columns, one leaving Szechwan Province, the other starting from Hsining. On the way both encountered Jungar troops which were defeated, fled and left Tibet. T'u-ssu Lu T'i-sin was taken ill at that time and sent his son Lu Hua-lin, commanding his troops, to participate in the expedition. Back in Huangchung he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in the Hsining army, and later colonel in Liangchow and brigadier general in Kanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The emperor, cognizant of the growing animosity of the lamas and the people against his appointed Dalai Lama Yeches, and of the aversion aroused in the hearts of the lamas and the Tibetans against the savage Jungars who had looted their temples and carried away the riches of the nation and killed many people, conversant with their eagerness to see enthroned in Lhasa the Dalai Lama secluded in Kumbum, resolved to send the lama to Lhasa with the Hsining army and to enthrone him as a new sixth Dalai Lama. The decision seemed to him apt to reconquer the sympathy of the Tibetans and the lamas, and to plant in their hearts aversion for the Jungars, who were waging war with him in Central Asia with an eye on Tibet.

The emperor, averred politician, in order to assure the success of his plan, ordered the Monguor Living Buddha, T'u Kuan, chief of the renowned Monguor monastery of Erh Ku Lung in Hsining, a learned man of high repute in Tibet and Mongolia, to convey the Kumbum Lama to Lhasa in the capacity of imperial envoy. He bestowed him with the title of Huthukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas, in order to dignify his position. He gave him letters and unusual gifts to bring to the Panchen Lama and to the heads of the most important monasteries in Tibet, his former teachers and friends. The Kumbum Dalai Lama, brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence and enthroned in 1720, was enthusiastically congratulated by the lamas and the Tibetans. This act put an end to the autonomy of Tibet and of the Yellow Church. The Monguors were proud of their Huthukhtu (Monguors II: 31). The sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was dethroned and called to Peking in order to prevent possible complications.[92]

[92] Maurice Courant, *op. cit.*, 76-77. W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China 1644-1908, *T'oung-pao*, 1-92, 1910. E. Haenich, Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas unter der Gegenwärtigen Dynasty, *T'oung-pao*, 197-235, 375-424, 1911. Réné Grousset, *op. cit.* Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ching Period*, Washington, 1943. L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century*. Lieden, Brill, 1950. H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, I, *passim*.

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from wars and revolts, never had suffered as much as in 1723–1724.

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS

After relating the successful repression by General Nien Keng-yao of the terrible revolt of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas in 1723–1724 in Huangchung, something should be said concerning two Manchu princes, accused by the general before Emperor Yung Cheng, of having contributed of their own money to the building of a Catholic church in Hsining in 1723–1724.

This is the first document concerning the existence of a Catholic church in Hsining and consequently of a Catholic community. It seems unusual to see a general make such an accusation directly to the emperor, at a time when the conjunctures of war absorbed all his forces and energies (July 1, 1724).

Emperor K'ang Hsi died on December 20, 1722. His fourth son, Yung Cheng, ascended the throne in 1723. According to the time-honored custom, some of the brothers of the new emperor assumed an attitude of menacing hostility toward him. The Emperor Yung Cheng suspected his ninth brother, Sessaka, of being the chief of the discontented faction and sent him (April 15, 1723) far away to Hsining to fight the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas under the command of General Nien Keng-yao. Together with Sessaka two sons of the Manchu Prince Surniana were also sent, the sixth, Lessihin, and the twelfth.[84]

Surniana, a brother of the late Emperor K'ang Hsi, member of the oldest branch of the Manchu dynasty, had been a notorious governor in Liaotung province and was the chief of one of the eight Manchu banners. He was suspected by Emperor Yung Cheng of being a sympathizer and supporter of the Sessaka group. He and his entire family were banished to Yu Wei, on the northern outskirts of the empire. His properties were confiscated, his three hundred servants and slaves taken away, all his dignities removed, and he and his family reduced to the state of subjects. The wealthy Surniana had thirteen sons and sixteen daughters. Most of the these princes and princesses were Catholics. The sixth son, Lessihin, was baptized before he left for Hsining and the twelfth son when he arrived at Hsining. They were confined in separate houses and guarded by soldiers.

The reason for these troubles were the accusations sent September 7, 1723, by the Viceroy of Chekiang and Fukien provinces to the tribunal of rites, concerning the building of Catholic churches in the provinces, the customs observed by the Catholics, the large number of priests in the country, etc. The viceroy favored a

[84] The charge seems to have been based on slander. Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses 3: 366–465, Paris, Paul Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. Histoire Generale de la Chine, De Mailla. 11: 373–408, Paris, Clousier, rue Saint Jacques, 1880.

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"an acquaintance of mine." East of Lake Kokonor, on the west side of the Yellow River, is a prince who "wants to become a Christian." West of where the great wall protrudes around Chengfan (Liangchow) is a Christian outpost conducted by the governor of Yung-ning-p'u. Here "I preached at the tents of the Mongols." Today there are Christians there. North of this settlement is a prince of 20,000 families. In the extreme north sits a Mongol prince whose wife is the daughter of the Emperor of China. He rules over 40,000 families. (This text points to the Prince of Alashan.)

The Khan, bKrasis Batur, second son of Gushri, the Khoshot, who conquered Kokonor and Tibet (1635) died in 1714. The Queen Mother of the successor accompanied the bier. The cremated bones of the Khan were carried for burial to the tomb of the Mongol kings situated on the borders of his kingdom between Chuang Lang and Hsining [94b] in steep mountains. I have sent an Armenian and one of my catechists to present the Queen Mother with a handkerchief and a snuff box filled with European tobacco. She has sent one of her major domos to thank me and to hear about the holy law.

Maoletti awaited the return of the Queen in the Church of the Armenians in Topa.

Maoletti worked for about fifteen years in Shensi, Kansu and Ili (Turkistan) and mentions nine places with churches or oratories (three of them with two) and fifteen or sixteen other Christian communities, some larger, some consisting of only a handful of converts; some of the congregations had been founded by the Jesuits, others by zealous laymen, but the bulk of the achievement was doubtless due to the pioneering effort of Maoletti. One may speculate that to some extent the ground had been prepared for the work of the Catholic missionaries by the Nestorians who were strong in these regions. (*Monum. Serica,* 298–303.)

In Hsining, which at that time was an emporium of China with a garrison of six thousand soldiers, seven or eight adults had been baptized in 1706 by the Jesuit, Father Dehergne. The city had been visited several times in 1708–1709 by the Jesuits Jartoux and Regis, preparing the map of Kansu and Tibet on the order of the Emperor K'ang Hsi. In 1713 Maoletti bought a small church in Hsining which he dedicated to St. Gregory, the Armenian, and entrusted to the care of a fervent Armenian Catholic living in Topa. Later, the community having developed, Hsining had two churches, one of Our Lady of Angels for the men, and the other for the women. Later both had come under litigation [probably after the accusation by General Nien Keng-yao of the sons of Surniana].

At that time Topa, 60 li north of Hsining, was a stronghold, subject to a Mongol prince who was tributary to the Mongol Khan. Topa was the trading place of the foreigners, Mongols, Tibetans, Lamas, Indians, Persians, Turks, Armenians, and Muscovites. Fifteen different languages were spoken here. In this Babylon is an oratory or small church built by Armenians at my insistence.

Cheng-hai-p'u, with a garrison of one thousand soldiers, a village near Topa, and at the great Gate of the Foreigners, had a very large church, which had a literate merchant as head of the congregation of the Chinese as well as the neighboring Tibetans.

[94b] Between Chuang Lang and Hsining are the tombs of the Li and the Lu t'ussu in Siangt'ang and Lien ch'eng, but I suppose no connections exist between these three cemeteries and both t'ussu and Khoshots.

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The power of the lamas consisted in the number of their subject tribes and their expansive territorial possessions. Their properties were confiscated, and their subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials, liable to their corvees, and subject to their land taxes. The revolt had ruined forever the power of the lamas. Then followed a lot more regulations (Monguors II: 34, 49).

However, nothing was changed in the regime of the Monguor institution. Their extensive properties remained intact, and their subjects continued under the administration of their t'u-ssu, because they had been faithful for centuries to the empire, and because this time their support had been of untold value to the army. Even T'u-ssu Lu was especially rewarded for his services, and received more new subjects: the 8 Tibetan villages in the Cho Tzu Shan region, which had belonged to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor, numbering 453 families, totaling 2,365 persons (Monguors I: 33).

This terrible revolt, which had threatened the very existence of Huangchung as part of Kansu Province and the empire, ended with the annexation of Kokonor to the empire, the ruin of the lama institution in Huangchung, and the stabilization of the regime of the t'u-ssu and Monguors in Huangchung. Thanks to the connivance of the Huangchung lamas and Tibetans with the Kokonor Khoshots, all of them seethed with hatred against the empire.

In 1725, the revolt having been quelled, the commandery of Hsining became a prefecture and the So of Nienpei a subprefecture. According to one of the thirteen articles in the memorandum, presented to the throne by the Governor General, Nien Keng-yao, the building was started of three cities in the northern valley of Hsining, in Tatung, in Pe-ta, and in Yung Nan, which countries formerly belonged to the Kokonor Khoshots. Garrisons were appointed in order to forestall inroads of nomads and Jungars, and to provide easy communications between the two cities of Kanchow and Hsining. Tatung became a commandery (*Annals* of Hsining 1: 21*b*).

It had been noted that in 1647 after the defeat of the Mohammedans of Kanchow on the Tatung River, trying to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to follow them in the revolt, Chinese of Kanchow who had participated in the expedition dared not return to their original countries, but settled in the extensive pastures of Tatung and Pe-ta, recognized the lordship of the Mongol proprietors and started farming and building houses. It has been noted also that in 1693, after fifty years, the assistant commander of Hsining, T'u-ssu Li Hsia, had reported that already more than 10,000 families were living there. The census of 1730 noted that the population of these settlements, started in 1647, was composed of Chinese, Monguors, Mohammedans, and Tibetans, living in twenty-two villages. The population of two villages was entirely composed of Chinese,

175x [66] [795] 175x 631 175x 631 162

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Huangchung and the Monguors, after the troubles of 1723–1724, enjoyed peace for sixty years. All that time they assisted in the complete change of the administration and of the country, caused by the confiscation of the large properties and Tibetan tribes which belonged to the lamas. They assisted in the rebuilding of cities, villages and fortifications, schools and granaries, and rebuilt and overhauled their own properties. Every day new regulations were issued to which everybody had to comply, and everywhere Chinese officials and bureaus were encountered. The Chinese officials played the capital role in the country. A large army occupied the country. The influence the t'u-ssu had enjoyed during centuries was waning rapidly.

FIRST MOHAMMEDAN REVOLT—WAHHABISM

All of a sudden in 1781 the terrible revolt broke out among the Mohammedans in Kansu. It portended ominous events.

The Salars, Turks, originating from Turkistan (Samarkand, according to the traditions) inhabited during the Yuan time both borders of the Yellow River, in the region of Hsun Hua T'ing in East Kansu, and in the regions of Pa Yen Jung in southern Huangchung. The time of their arrival in Kansu is unknown, but certainly they lived in that region at the end of the Yuan because two of their chiefs had already surrendered to the Ming in 1370, and received the office of t'u-ssu. The Salars live in thirteen groups called *kong*. The four upper and the four lower groups are called the eight inside Salar *kong* and are controlled by their t'u-ssu. The remaining five groups, called the outside Salar *kong*, are controlled by the subprefecture of Pa Yen Jung (Monguors I: 22, 23). Han Pao-yuan, t'u-ssu of the four upper Salar groups, lives with his subjects in the region of Hsun Hua. His subjects adopted the surname of Han. Han Sha-pa, t'u-ssu of the four lower Salar groups, inhabits the region east of Hsun Hua. His subjects adopted the surname of Ma (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Both t'u-ssu are the founders of the two Salar groups. The Salars profess Islam, but all over the country among their neighbors are many Chinese Mohammedans.

Wahhabism, a sect founded by Ibn Abd-al-Wahhab who died in 1787, aimed at the revival of the primitive orthodoxy of Islam and the abolition of the innovations contrary to the Sunni. He reacted violently against, at that time, the more and more popular cult of the Saints, Prophets, and the Graves.[95]

It happened that in 1762 a Mohammedan from Anting in Kansu, called Ma Ming-hsin, arrived back in Hsun Hua from a pilgrimage (to Mecca?). On his way he had been captivated by the violent discussions, at that time in full swing, relating to the new sect of the

[95] Henri Masse, *L'Islam*, 208–209, Paris, Armand Colin, 1930.

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Wahhabits, and had witnessed the fanaticism and the successes reaped by its promoters. He was enthusiastic about the idea of a return to the original orthodoxy. On his arrival, he posed in the Hsun Hua community as the possessor of the genuine doctrine and the champion of the religion founded by Mohammed and his companions. In the services in the mosques he urged the recitation of prayers with a loud voice, for it was the rite practiced in the new sect. It tremendously shocked the other Mohammedan communities, used to reciting the texts in a low voice, so that they accused the disturbers of the religion to the officials. The Salar, Su Forty-three, with other Salars, invited Ma Ming-hsin as teacher and head of all the Mohammedan communities of Hsun Hua. Bitter discussions arose between the two groups, and forty adherents of the old religion were killed. An accusation was dispatched to the governor in Lanchow, who immediately sent two military officials with their troops to Hsun Hua to quell the revolt. However, the new religious group had already grown so fast and become so numerous, that Su Forty-three was able to beat the troops, kill the officials, and occupy the city of Ho Chou. New troops which arrived did not dare go to Ho Chou and they garrisoned in Ti-tao. Then the new religious rebels ran to Lanchow. They defeated the 800 poor troops of Lanchow, besieged the city, occupied the western corner of the city, and broke up the bridge over the Yellow River. New troops came from Kanchow and Szechwan. In the meantime, the officials of Anting had captured Ma Ming-hsin, the fomenter of the revolt in the city and sent him to the prison of Lanchow. The rebels requested their leader. From upon the city wall, the official made him exhort the rebels to keep quiet and return home. It did not work. Then Ma Ming-hsin was killed with his son.

Just at that time T'u-ssu Lu Fan, from Lien Ch'eng, had arrived with 300 Monguor troops and was attacked by the rebels. His troops were nearly all killed and the t'u-ssu was wounded. Then the rebels retired to the nearby Hua Lin mountains and prepared entrenchments. General A Kuei was called from Szechwan to quell the revolt. The army dared not attack the fanatic rebels in the mountains. The Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu, leading his Salar Mohammedan troops of the old religion, was first to attack and enter the mountains. He was very successful. Later he recovered the city of Ho Chou. More troops arrived from Szechwan and Mongol troops from Alashan. In the mountainous country they administered a crushing defeat to the rebels who fled to the Hua Lin temple. It was burned down with the rebels inside. Few escaped, among them Su Forty-three, who was captured and killed. The revolt was quelled. Then followed the murdering of the entire families of hundreds of the adherents to the sect, forbidden to pray with a loud voice, to collect money and alms, etc.

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Where were the Monguor t'u-ssu during the revolt? 175x
The defeat of the troops of T'u-ssu Lu Fan has been 703
related. He was rewarded later by the honor of wear- 624
ing the double peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57).

The five outer Salar groups, adherents of the new 175x
religion, inhabited Pa Yen Jung situated south of Nien- 648
pei. The danger of inroads on and the plundering of [795]
these groups had to be forestalled. Lu Chen-hsien, member of the t'u-ssu clan, guarded with the troops the region of Hsiang T'ang and Huei Ho Tung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 60).

T'u-ssu Kan San Yuen-pao guarded the city of Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Chou Lin guarded the passes of Ch'i Shih near Pa Yen Jung and Feng T'ai Shan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51). T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the city of Nienpei and was later called to Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai helped guard the city of Ti-tao in East Kansu with 200 Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the Hsiao Hsia pass near Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu who had fought in Lan- [703]
chow and recovered Ho Chou, was rewarded by the honor to wear the Blue Plume or Crow feather, and received the button of the second degree, worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*).

The Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Lanchow and was rewarded with the same honor as the former Salar t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*a*).

Huangchung had been spared from inroads and devastation.

YEN CH'A HUI REVOLT

After the death of Ma Ming-hsin in Lanchow in 175x
1781, T'ien Wu, a fanatic *ahong*, leader of the new sect 795
in Fu Ch'iang in East Kansu, was proclaimed chief of 648
the new sect. At that time the Chinese officials were 579
brutally murdering the entire families of the rebels, and 798
rumors were spread that all the Mohammedans of the old and new sects were to be killed. Already in 1782, in Shih Feng Pao, in the T'ung Wei district, T'ien Wu had started digging entrenchments and moving the wives and children to strongholds in the mountains, weapons had been prepared and flags, etc. Around Ku Yuen and Fu Ch'iang encounters continued unabated between the army and the rebels, who grew stronger and stronger by the accrual of countless adherents of the old sect. In 1784 T'ien Wu was wounded in a fight in Fu Ch'iang and died. The rebels, beaten in many encounters, fled to the Shin Feng Pao mountains where they finally were exterminated, and 3,000 wives and children brutally murdered. The revolt was quelled.

During the revolt T'u-ssu Lu Fan had helped guard 175x
the city of Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*) and 579

[P.64(B)]

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T'u-ssu Lu yin, member of the Lu clan, guarded the Yang-chia temple region (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 58).

T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the Ping Ku pass near Lien Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuen guarded the Lu P'an Shan region and was later called to guard Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*–*b*).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai with 300 Monguors guarded the Kuan Miao T'an in Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). T'u-ssu Chao Huai-peh guarded the Ping Ku pass with Kan T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the bridge in Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu fought in Fu Ch'iang and was rewarded with the title of lieutenant colonel (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Fu Ch'iang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*).

Huangchung again had escaped devastation, but East Kansu for the second time had to bear the brunt of the revolt. The country and the people suffered tremendously for the officials were determined to annihilate completely the adherents of the sect and their families.[96]

NEW SECT IN HSINING

However, the sect of the new religion was already rooted too deep in the minds of the Kansu Mohammedans to get rid of it by crushing two revolts and killing many people. In 1789 a small group of adherents to the sect were discovered among the Mohammedans in Hsining by the officials. They held meetings and created disturbances in the Mohammedan colony. They were captured, a number of them killed with their families, the rest exiled to Ho Lun Chiang by order of the emperor.[97]

The sect of the White Lotus religion had already spread in five provinces in 1796. It would still last seven years before it would be quelled. In 1798 a strong group of 12,000 rebels invaded East Kansu in the third moon, parted in two groups and started devastating and plundering the country. All available troops were ordered to come to the rescue of the Shensi and Kansu troops. T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun went with 300 Monguor soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu went with his soldiers of the old religion (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu also went to the rescue and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*a*). The remaining t'u-ssu protected the borders of Huangchung along the Yellow River.

In the seventh moon of 1800 the country was at peace (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 59–61). Huangchung

[96] Both revolts are summarized according to *Annals* of Kansu 47: 1–3. J. J. M. De Groot, *Sectarianism and religious persecution in China*, 311–327, sq., Amsterdam, Muller, 1903. Commandant d'Ollone, *Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, 229, sq., Paris, Leroux, 1911.

[97] J. J. M. De Groot, *op. cit.*, 327.

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again had escaped devastation, but East Kansu had borne for the third time the brunt of the revolt.[98] 175x 579

In 1806 tremendous rains ruined the districts of Chang Hsien, Ming Chou, and Leang Tang. Inundations of the Yellow River followed in the southern part of East Kansu. Cattle were drowned, many villages no longer existed, and the poor and destitute Tibetan tribes started plundering the country. T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-ming was sent in 1807 to Ch'i Chia Chai to guard the banks of the Yellow River where the people were used to crossing it, in order to prevent inroads of starving, pillaging people into Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*).

TIBETAN REVENGE UPON THE MONGOLS OF KOKONOR

In 1822 a revolt of twenty-three Tibetan tribes broke out in the regions of Hsun Hua and Kuei Te. The Mongols in 1509 had invaded Kokonor, the pasture grounds of the Tibetans. They had occupied the best pastures and relegated the Tibetans to poor and small pastures, or annihilated them entirely. This situation had lasted until 1726 when each tribe became the proprietor of the grounds it occupied, but the Khoshots were favored by the fact that they remained the proprietors of the large and best pastures stolen from the Tibetans in 1509. The glorious period of the Khoshots was at a very low ebb and the Tibetans deemed the opportunity at hand to recover their old pastures, to chase the hated, enfeebled Mongols and to occupy the pastures on the northern borders of the Yellow River which were in the hands of the Khoshots. 175x 628

A long period of devastation and murder succeeded. The Tibetan lama Chaghan Nom-un Khan was one of the leaders of the revolt. Many Khoshots left the country. The revolt spread rapidly. Many Tibetan tribes of the Kanchow and Yung Ch'ang and Liangchow regions joined the revolt and plundered the lands of the Mongols. Those of Liangchow attacked Mongol tribes in Sung Shan and stole 4,000 cattle, those of Kanchow plundered the Uighur tribes in the vicinity of the city, etc. The whole country was upset: the army was in a hurry. Except for an inroad in Tatung and one in Hsiao Hsia, Huangchung was not devastated. The officials removed from the lama the tribes he controlled. The revolt was not quelled until 1854, after thirty years. No notes are recorded concerning the movement of Monguor troops against the revolting Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 62*a–b*).

The empire had a bad time, for in the meantime revolts raged unchecked in the provinces of middle and north China. A new uprising of the White Lotus sect had started in 1831. The sect continued its ravages and destruction under new names. The revolt was followed in 1850 by the insurrection of the Taiping, which 175x 579 795

[98] J. J. De Groot, *op. cit.*, 363. sq.

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lasted until 1864, during which 20 million people of Kiangsu province were killed. Simultaneously the Nien Fei sect (mounted brigands) started its ravages in 1850. This revolt ended in 1868, having devastated the same provinces of the empire.

In Turkistan the Mohammedan Chang Ko Erh revolted in 1826. He conquered Turkistan and in 1828 the city of Suchow in North Kansu, situated along the well-known trade road to Central Asia. The regular troops of Liangchow, Kanchow, and Hsining were moved in a hurry to cope with the invasion which threatened to overrun Kansu. The Monguor troops had not been called to come to the rescue of the army. However, T'u-ssu Lu had sent grain to Suchow to feed the hungry troops. He was rewarded with the button of the second degree worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The long exhausting war of China with the Jungars ended in 1857 and a new Mohammedan uprising broke out in Turkistan in 1864. It lasted until 1876 and conquered the entire region of the Tarim basin.

REVOLT OF THE EAST KANSU AND HUANGCHUNG MOHAMMEDANS. 1860–1873

The revolt is summarized according to the *Annals* of Kansu 47: 4 sq.

In 1859 the Mohammedan Ma-ha-pu-tu revolted in the eastern suburb of the city of Ho Chou in East Kansu. The revolt was soon quelled. The reason for the revolt is not noted.

In 1860 the Salars of Hsun Hua in East Kansu and those of Pa Yen Jung in Huangchung revolted in combination with the Mohammedans of the Shensi province, far more numerous than the Salars. A group started plundering in the Ho Chou region, and a group (that of the Salars of Pa Yen Jung who lived in Huangchung south of the subprefecture of Nienpei, north of the Yellow River) invaded the southern valleys of Hsining.

In 1861 these groups, drawing near Hsining, were put to flight by the commander Chao Erh-hsun, but they popped up in the eastern valley of Hsining, burning, destroying villages, and killing many people. The local militia could not withstand their fierce attacks.

In 1862 the rebels having no aim beyond plunder and the satisfaction of seeing their hatred against the Chinese fulfilled, roamed in strong groups all over Huangchung and East Kansu. Every day more Mohammedans of Kansu joined their groups. The lamas, Nangso, and Tibetans fought with the army. Some groups were victorious; some suffered hard reverses. The Salar t'u-ssu of the four upper and lower groups submitted with the Shensi Mohammedans in Tsa Pa Ch'eng. The suspicious officials nonetheless accepted their surrender, because the Nien Fei and Fa Fei brigands roamed in the vicinity of T'ungkuan, and they

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were afraid these brigands would join the rebel Mohammedans. 175 x 795 ● 579 628

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Hsing-nan was ordered to join the troops of General Fan Pei-lin and guard the passes of Cha Ssu Kuan and Ch'ing Ling nao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). T'u-ssu Ch'i Ch'eng-kao joined the army, fighting the rebels on the passes (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46a). T'u-ssu Chao Yung-li guarded the passes in Pa Yen Jung country, and was rewarded with the two-eyed peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49a). [703]

T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun, having the title of brigadier general, fought with 500 of his troops around Hsining. He was helped by his nephew Lu Su-chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57, 60).

In 1863 the revolt was growing more intensive every day. East Kansu suffered tremendously.

In the tenth moon rebels of the district of Ninghsia, led by Ma Hua-lung [99] took the important city of Ninghsia by storm. The city was devastated. Many fires were set and tens of thousands of Chinese were killed. Thereafter Ma Hua-lung besieged and captured the city of Ling Chou where he killed 20,000 Chinese.

In the tenth moon Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining. For a long time dissension concerning the old and the new religion divided the Hsining Mohammedans into two camps. Governor Yu T'ung invited the Mohammedan chief Ma Wen-i to patch up the trouble and to make them desist from plundering the country. Both parties consented but a strong group of Salars and Shensi Mohammedans arrived, besieged the city, and then plundered the country. During the year 1863 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to garrison in Sheng T'ang and Ch'i-li-pu, and guard the western highway (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57b). [791]

In 1864 the revolt raged unchecked in East Kansu, and the city of Hsun Hua was taken by storm, followed by a tremendous massacre of the Chinese population. Another Mohammedan group attacked the city of Donkir west of Hsining, but was beaten. It invaded the Sina valley and was put to flight. Long before the attack of the city, dissension among the Mohammedans concerning the two religions had divided them into two groups. The old group was called the great group (*ta hui*), the adherents of the new religion, the group of the flowered temple (*hua ssu*). The first group disapproved of the attack on the city and called into the city 1,000 of its members from outside. The Chinese population of [563]

[99] The Moslem Ma Hua-lung, back from Turkistan, had founded a new sect in Chin Chi Pu in the prefecture of Ninghsia. He claimed to have received revelations from Allah. The people honored him as an equal of Mohammed. He was to be succeeded by his descendant after his death as chief of the sect. However, after his death, his son-in-law and his grandson struggled for the succession, and the sect parted in two groups. He did not proscribe attendance at the mosques, but he recommended praying at home, two or three families together, praying in a loud voice, with the palms of the hands turned upward. The sect spread even as far as Szechwan and Yunnan provinces (d'Ollone, *op. cit.*, 374).

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the city was grateful and ready to help them. The second group called three thousand outsiders. However, the attackers were beaten by the old group, the local militia of the Chinese population. 175x 795 671 628

In 1865 the depredation of the cities of Ku Lang, Yung Ch'ang, Shan Tan, and Kanchow, situated on the trade road to Turkistan, was wicked and ruthless. The rebels carried by storm the city of Suchow, and a terrible massacre of the population took place; 10,000 Chinese were killed. The pass of Chia Yu Kuan was captured by the rebels. At the time the rebels passed Liangchow, many Mohammedans from the vicinity fled into the city for shelter. The official, unable to put reliance on them and suspecting their connivance with the rebels, massacred them all in the city.

In the third moon the city of Hsining was besieged for a second time. The rebels were put to flight. Then they attacked the city of Donkir again. They were chased and looted several villages. At that time the dissension among the two groups had subsided. Mohammedans of Hsining attacked the city of Lao Ya Ch'eng but were beaten.

T'u-ssu Ah helped defend the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). T'u-ssu Chou Hsieh-chi died on the field of battle defending the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*a*). T'u-ssu Hsin, after the defense of the city, disappeared in the mountains and returned only in 1886 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 53*b*). During the whole year the Mohammedans had devastated East Kansu and Huangchung.

During 1866–1867 the attacks continued, and the army resisted in the same desultory fashion. The power of the Mohammedans was too strong and that of the army too feeble and uncoordinated. All these expeditions were in the nature of pillaging parties, which were murdering and kidnapping people, and carrying away all the valuables they could find. They stirred the bitter hatred which burned in the hearts of the Chinese against the Mohammedans, and that of the Mohammedans against the Chinese.

In 1868 the Mohammedans of Hsining again looted the Donkir region and were defeated in Shen Chung. Their chief Ah Wu was captured and killed with 1,300 of his brigands.

In the tenth moon, the new governor general of Shensi-Kansu, Tso Tsung-t'ang, appointed in 1866, arrived with his troops to quell the revolt.

In 1869–1870 the general first attacked the most important center of the uprising. He quelled the revolt of Ma Hua-lung and cleared the Ninghsia district of rebels. He acted as ruthlessly with the Mohammedans as they had behaved with the Chinese. The massacre [798] of the Mohammedans was tremendous. The stronghold of Chin Chi Pu, the center of the revolt, was burned to the ground with the defenders of the city who fought with the courage of despair. Nothing was heard of them any more. Ling Wu was taken in the same way and few defenders escaped.

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The Mohammedan population of Ninghsia was very dense. It inhabited many important villages. One village after another was destroyed but a few Mohammedans managed to escape toward Shensi or Huangchung. The army commanders of Ninghsia and the local militia, which had suffered so many reverses and lost many soldiers at the hands of the Mohammedans, were in high spirits and revenged themselves against their former oppressors. In the meantime the revolt went on in the other prefectures of Kansu-Shensi.

In 1871 Ma Hua-lung, who had surrendered the previous year, was killed with his father, his son, brothers, and the commander of his troops. The revolt was quelled in the prefecture of Ninghsia.

In the third moon the city of Lien Ch'eng, the stronghold of the Lu t'u-ssu, was attacked by the rebels. The attack failed and the rebels were put to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 42 : 57*b*).

In 1872, in the third moon, Tso Tsung-t'ang, leading his army, went to Hsining. The Mohammedans of Hsining, in combination with Salars and Shensi rebels, were at that time plundering the country, killing people, and converting their villages into fortresses, in expectation of attacks from the Chinese army. Tso Tsung-t'ang followed the tactics he had successfully used in Ninghsia, and before long he had the situation in hand. In combination with the Hsining troops he cleared the country, destroying the villages of Mohammedans one after another, and killing all the Mohammedans he could lay hand on. The figure of those killed ran into the ten thousands. More than 100 villages had been destroyed. The Mohammedan population of the Hsining country was very dense. This fact gives an insight into the power of the Mohammedans in the country, and the difficulty for small armies assigned to defend definite countries, and, without coordination among them to cope with the situation.

In the seventh moon the general moved to Lanchow to recommence the same tactics, annihilating the strongholds, killing and demoralizing the rebels.

In the eleventh moon several thousand Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining again. Among them were Salars of the two Salar t'u-ssu from Hsun Hua, the four upper and lower kungs, Mohammedans from Shensi province and from the suburbs of Hsining. The situation in Hsining seems to have been critical, for troops were sent by General Tso Tsung-t'ang from Lanchow. The troops could not cross the Tat'ung River, the boats having been burned by the rebels. The T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng, living on the borders of the river, immediately called his people to prepare a floating bridge, and the troops arrived on time in Hsining. The army administered a crushing defeat to the rebels, destroyed the Mohammedan suburb of Hsining, and the massacre followed. Then the local Mohammedans sued for peace and surrender in concert with the Salars. The officials suspected their faithfulness. They retired

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and started plundering again. They were pursued, and 3,000 among them were killed. The remaining Salars fled to Pa Yien Jung and the surrender of the Hsining Mohammedans was accepted. The Hsining revolt was quelled. The Mohammedans had suffered tremendous losses.

In 1873, in the first moon, the troops recovered the subprefecture of Tat'ung and cleared the country in the same ruthless way. For many months the army had tried to recover the city of Suchow, situated on the trade road to Turkistan. In the Suchow area the Mohammedan population was very dense. Troops were sent from Lanchow and Hsining, but did not succeed in the action. Finally, in October, Tso Tsung-t'ang himself arrived with more troops from Lanchow. In November the city was recovered, the country cleared, and the Mohammedan population of the whole country massacred.

The same year the cities of Hsun Hua and Ho Chou were recovered and the country cleared. The number of the slaughtered Mohammedans in the cities and the surrounding villages was tremendous. Huangchung and East Kansu were pacified. Both Chinese and Mohammedans had borne the brunt of the revolt, and suffered equally.

During this last revolt, 1860–1873, a relatively few number of notes are encountered concerning the role played by the t'u-ssu and their troops. The fact is quite understandable. Mohammedan groups were running all over the whole country, and the forces of the regular army were insufficient to cope with the situation on a large scale. The t'u-ssu had to protect their own strongholds and fortified villages which sheltered their subjects, in the way the officials had to protect the cities with their population. Huangchung had suffered terribly and the destroyed villages and cities told the tale. The Monguors had had a bad time, but comparatively few had lost their lives, having hid and resisted the rebels in the strongholds of their t'u-ssu. The loss of cattle, houses, etc., was tremendous.

For the second time dissension concerning the old and new religion had caused a terrible revolt. The fanatic Salars, as well as the Chinese Mohammedans, had been responsible for all the harm suffered in Kansu and Shensi. However, every time their revolt had been on the brink of disaster, both groups forgot their dissension about religion and together fought fanatically their common enemy, the army of the hated Chinese.

REVOLT OF MOHAMMEDANS IN 1895–1896

During the revolt of the Mohammedans in 1860–1873, many cities and villages of Huangchung had been devastated and many, many thousands of Chinese and Mohammedans killed. During the following twenty-two years, the country had more or less recovered from the disaster, when a new revolt of the Mohammedans

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broke out, as terrible as the preceding, and forecasting anew many days and nights of black despair. The news of a revolt of the Mohammedans was enough to cause a feeling of awe all over the country.

This time the revolt started in Hsun Hua in East Kansu where, in 1762, Ma Ming-hsin, coming back from a pilgrimage, had founded his new religion. It was caused by dissension among the Mohammedans of Hsun Hua concerning the old and new religions. Han Mu-li was the leader of the old religion group, and Han Ssu the leader of the new religion group. Fifty thousand Salars prepared to join the revolt. In Hsun Hua, at that time, there was a garrison of only five to six thousand soldiers.

The viceroy of the provinces of Shen Kan Yang, Ch'ang-chun, was informed. Immediately he ordered the commanders of Kanchow, Hsining, and Turkistan to move their troops around the Hsun Hua region, in order to encircle the revolt (*Annals* of Kansu 47: 63*b*, 64*a*). The troops arrived too late, the city of Hsun Hua was already besieged by Han Mu-li and the Salars, the Mohammedans of Ho Chou, Hai Ch'eng, and Pa Yen Jung, Nienpei had already joined the revolt (*Annals* of Kansu 5: 49, 58*a–b*).

But there is another version of the cause of the revolt. The troubles arose in Hsun Hua from the dissensions related to the old and new religions, in the first moon of 1895. Then the viceroy sent Commander Lei Cheng-kuan immediately to garrison with his troops in the city of Ho Chou, in order to prevent the spread of the revolt. However, the whole region was upset on account of the misconduct of the troops of Ho Chou. Two Mohammedan leaders of Hsun Hua went to see the commander in Ho Chou, asking to put his troops in order. He killed the two leaders and then the revolt started and spread like a prairie fire. Hsun Hua was besieged by Salars, Ho Chou and Hai Ch'eng joined the revolt.

Later, the investigations of the conduct of Commander Lei Cheng-kuan disclosed that the reason for the misconduct of the soldiers of his troops had been the overdue payment of his soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 5: 42*a–b*, 43*a*).

Then followed many reverses and small successes of the Chinese troops, the flight of the besiegers of Hsun Hua in the fifth moon, and the spread of the revolt in Huangchung. In the sixth moon the Mohammedans of Hsining revolted, and with them all the Mohammedans of the whole country: Tatung and Pe-ta were besieged and captured. The Chinese troops were unable to cope with the revolt.

General Teng Tsen of Hsining asked for permission to order the enrollment of 200 soldiers of each of the tribes in the country (*Annals* of Kansu 47: 64).[100]

This note seems to point to the enrollment of the Monguor troops and their t'u-ssu, besides that of the

[100] d'Ollone, *op. cit.* 21: 299.

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Tibetan tribes. However, nowhere is recorded in this section the name of a t'u-ssu. Records about the t'u-ssu do not reach as far as 1895. 175x 795 579 628

Here we must close the chapter of the history of the Monguors during the Ch'ing dynasty, but a few words more will help one to understand the terrible devastation wrought in Huangchung during this revolt.

In the tenth moon, when the situation was completely out of hand, General Tung Fu-hsiang arrived with a strong army from Turkistan. He first went to Ho Chou and Hsun Hua, the centers of the revolt, ruthlessly murdering the Mohammedans in the way they had behaved with the Chinese. Then he pacified the Salars of Pa Yen Jung and the entire region south of Nienpei, along the northern borders of the Yellow River, all in the same bloody way. He went to Tat'ung and Pe-ta, and reached all the strongholds and fortified villages of the Mohammedans north, south, and east of Hsining, one after another, devastating the country and slaughtering the people.

In the second moon of 1896 the revolt was quelled. The remaining Mohammedans, having no way to live, fled toward Kokonor. The Tibetans and Mongols in Kokonor had been prevented from keeping in readiness to exterminate the rebels, pursued by the army. Small groups of them fled to Turkistan across the southern mountain range and submitted to the officials of Turkistan; most of them died from starvation and cold in the middle of the winter.

In 1920, traveling in the country, one encountered ruined villages and cities which told the story of both terrible Mohammedan revolts and this made it easy to understand the hatred which today still smolders in the hearts of Chinese and Mohammedans against each other in Kansu province. 175x

This first part of the book sheds light on the hopeless situation on the frontier regions during the Ming time. 175x 105

On the one hand, the uncouth Mongols were unable to organize a united front for the recovery of their lost empire; they were divided and subdivided in groups, fighting each other under the leadership of chieftains, seething with hatred and killing one another. They tumbled back into barbarism, invading the frontier regions, plundering, ravaging the country, abducting and killing the people. In Huangchung, East Kansu, and Kokonor they ruined and scattered the Tibetan tribes, reducing them to the level of slaves.

[P. 69(A)]